





**JOURNAL**  
OF THE  
**CEYLON BRANCH**  
OF THE  
**ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.**  
**1881-82.**

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**VOLUME VII.**

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*EDITED BY THE HONORARY SECRETARY.*

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"THE DESIGN OF THE SOCIETY IS TO INSTITUTE AND PROMOTE INQUIRIES INTO THE HISTORY  
RELIGION, LITERATURE, ARTS, AND SOCIAL CONDITION OF THE PRESENT AND FORMER  
INHABITANTS OF THE ISLAND, WITH ITS GEOLOGY, MINERALOGY, ITS CLIMATE  
AND METEOROLOGY, ITS BOTANY AND ZOOLOGY."

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COLOMBO.

THE "TIMES OF CEYLON" PRESS.

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1884.







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1881.

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5 FEB 1887



out of print 57-  
**JOURNAL**

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1881.



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**VOL. VII. PART I.**

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**No. 23.**

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“The design of the Society is to institute and promote enquiries into the History, Religion, Literature, Arts, and Social Condition of the present and former Inhabitants of the Island, with its Geology, Mineralogy, its Climate and Meteorology, its Botany and Zoology.”

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**COLOMBO:**

**GEORGE J. A. SKEEN, GOVERNMENT PRINTER, CEYLON.**

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**EDITED BY**  
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# ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

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## CEYLON BRANCH.

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### HINDU ASTRONOMY: *AS COMPARED WITH THE EUROPEAN SCIENCE.\**

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BY S. MERVIN.

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(Read April 7th, 1881.)

ASTRONOMY was discovered and cultivated in the early period of the world. It spread from one country to another, and seems to have come from Chaldea to India and China.

The Rev. H. Hoisington, of the American Mission at Jaffna, in his work entitled *The Oriental Astronomer*, says :—" Chaldea may be considered as the cradle of astronomy. A series of observations was made at Babylon during a period of 1,903 years preceding the capture of that city by Alexander. This would carry back the origin of astronomy in Chaldea to at least 2,234 years before Christ."

"The Chinese possess the oldest authentic records of astronomical observations. They invented their cycle of 60 years as early as 2,900 years B.C., and they were able to predict (or calculate) the eclipses as early as 2,128 years B.C."

"The early part of Hindu astronomy is involved in great obscurity. The lunar mansions, or *Nadchattirams*, are the most ancient part of Hindu astronomy found on record. They date somewhere between the years 1528 and 1371 B.C."

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\* The Society decline to be responsible for the statements of the author. The Paper is printed (in *résumé*) having been read at a General Meeting.

True Hindu astronomy is very different from Hindu mythology. Some Europeans seem to think that the mythology and the astronomy of the Hindus are identical.

Hindu mythology is mingled with legends and exaggerations of poetry, which are utterly fantastic and absurdly false. But the true science of astronomy is found in other works which are really scientific, such as :—

<i>Brahma Siddhántam.</i>	<i>Viyása Siddhántam.</i>
<i>Súriya Siddhántam.</i>	<i>Pósa Siddhántam.</i>
<i>Sóma Siddhántam.</i>	<i>Varáka Siddhántam.</i>
<i>Vashda Siddhántam.</i>	<i>A'riya Siddhántam</i>
<i>Rómaka Siddhántam.</i>	<i>Siddhánta Sirómani.</i>

There are several other works among the Hindus on astronomy, but these are the important ones.

I do not pretend to say that I have read all these books. I have read only two of them, from which I will give quotations and authorities, to prove that many of the doctrines of the Hindu science do perfectly correspond with those of the European science.

The 59th verse of the 1st chapter of *Súriya Siddhántam* reads as follows :—

“Twice 800 yójanas are the diameter of the earth; the square root of ten times the square of that is the earth’s circumference.”

Here it is plainly said that the earth’s diameter is 1,600 yójanas, which at 5 miles each\* will give 8,000 miles,

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\* The measurement of the *yójana* is not exactly settled. According to some authorities, it is equal to 16,000 yards; according to others, to 8,000 yards. The Chinese traveller Hieuen Tshang, who visited India in the middle of the 7th century, reports that in India, according to ancient tradition, a yójana equalled 40 li (a li being about 550 yards). According to the customary use of the Indian kingdoms, it is 30 li. But the yójana mentioned in the sacred books contains only 16 li; which smallest yójana is equal to 5 English miles.



and its circumference 25,298 miles. According to European science the diameter is 7,917 miles, and the circumference 24,856 miles, shewing a very close proximity to the Hindu calculation.

Again, the 52nd verse of the 3rd chapter of *Siddhānta Sirómani* reads thus :—

“The circumference of the earth has been pronounced to be 4,967 yójanas, and the diameter of the same has been declared to be  $1581\frac{1}{24}$  yojanas.”

According to this, the diameter is  $7,905\frac{5}{24}$  miles, and the circumference 24,835 miles, which figures are very much nearer to the European than those given in *Súriya Siddhānta*, the difference being very insignificant.

II.—According to Hindu mythology, the earth is a circular, flat body, supported by the serpent “*A'tichédan*,” &c.; but the 32nd verse of the 12th chapter of *Súriya Siddhāntam* says that the earth is a globe and a self-supporting body.

The same description is given in the 2nd verse of the 3rd chapter of *Siddhānta Sirómani* :—

“This globe of the earth is perfectly round, and encompassed by the orbits of the Moon, Mercury, Venus, the Sun, Mars, Jupiter and Saturn, and by the constellations. It has no (material) supporter, but stands firmly in the expanse of heaven by its own inherent force,” &c.

The 4th verse demonstrates the self-support of the earth :—

“If the earth were supported by any material substance or living creature, then that would require a second supporter ; and for that second, a third would be required. Here, we have the absurdity of an interminable series. If the last of the series be supposed to remain firm by its own inherent power, then why may not the same power be supposed to exist in the first—that is, in the earth ? ”

III.—According to Hindu mythology, the earth is said to be motionless, and the day and night are caused by the sun moving round the earth; but *A'riya Siddhántam* says that the earth moves round on its axis, and that thereby the day and night are caused. This verse of *A'riya Siddhántam* is quoted by Professor Colebrook in his *Essays*, Vol. II., page 392.

IV.—The mythology states that the sun is nearer the earth than the moon; but the 2nd verse of the 3rd chapter of *Siddhánta Sirómani*, read before, says that the earth is encompassed by the orbits of the Moon, Mercury, Venus, the Sun, Mars, Jupiter and Saturn. By the order of the planets, as given here, it will be seen that the moon is nearer than the sun. The order is the very same as that given in the European science, except that the sun and the earth have been transposed.

Besides, the 5th verse of the 10th chapter of the same work says that the distance of the moon from the earth is 51,566 yójanas, and that of the sun 689,377, shewing that the moon is much nearer to the earth than the sun.

V.—The diameter of the moon's disc is said in the 1st verse of the 4th chapter of *Súriya Siddhántam* to be 480 yójanas or 2,400 miles, whereas according to European science it is 2,162 miles, shewing only a slight difference.

VI.—The common idea of the people and the poetical expression in almost all the Tamil epic poems are that the clouds go to the sea, drink its water, and then pour the rain on the earth. But a verse in *Ráku Vamsam* says: "The sun evaporates the waters and moisture of the earth, and then gives it back"—i. e., it rains.

European science is the same.

VII.—According to the European science, a year is caused by the earth revolving once round the sun in 365 days, 5 hours, 48 minutes, and 48 seconds; and according to the Hindu science,

it is caused by the sun going once through the twelve (12) signs of the zodiac in 365 days, 6 hours, 12 minutes, and 29 seconds. Whatever may be the difference in the theory, the result is almost alike in determining the length of a year, the difference being only about 24 minutes.

VIII.—The 2nd verse of the 4th chapter of *Siddhānta Sirómaṇi* says: “The atmosphere extends to the height of 12 yójanas from the earth; within this limit are the clouds, lightning, &c.” Twelve yójanas are equal to 60 miles.

European science also says that the atmosphere surrounds the earth to the height of 50 or 60 miles.

IX.—The cause of the motion of the planets is explained in the first five verses of the 2nd chapter of *Súriya Siddhāntam*.

(Verse 1.) “Forms of time, of invisible shape, stationed in the zodiac (*bhagaṇa*), called the conjunction (*sighróchcha*), apsis (*mandóchcha*), and node (*páta*), are causes of the motion of the planets.”

(2.) “The planets, attached to these beings by cords of air, are drawn away by them with the right and left hand, forward or backward according to nearness, toward their own place.”

(3.) “A wind, moreover, called *praváha* impels them towards their own apices (*uchcha*); being drawn away forward and backward, they proceed by a varying motion.”

(4.) “The so-called apex (*uchcha*), when in the half orbit in front of the planet, draws the planet forward; in like manner, when in the half orbit behind the planet, it draws it backward.”

(5.) “When the planets drawn away by their apices (*uchcha*) move forward in their orbits, the amount of the motion so caused is called their excess (*dhana*); when they move backward, it is called their deficiency (*ṛiṇa*.)”

There is some sort of agreement between European and Hindu sciences in this intricate and abstruse part of astronomy. European science says that the planets take their circular

orbits from the combined effect of their centrifugal and centripetal forces.

In the verses referred to just now the following description is given:—"The so-called apex, when in the half orbit in front of the planet, draws the planet forward; in like manner, when in the half orbit behind the planet it draws it backward. Being drawn away, forward and backward, they proceed by a varying motion."

The accelerated motion and retarded motion are conveyed by the terms "*sighróchcham*" and "*mandóchcham*," which mean respectively "swiftness" and "slowness."

Thus, it will be seen that the European and Hindu sciences, although the expressions are different, agree as to the causes of the motion of planets in circular or oval orbits.

X.--Though the motions of planets and the figure of their orbits had been determined by Copernicus and other astronomers, yet the cause, or power, which carries them in their orbits, was unknown at that time. The discovery of this cause was made by Sir Isaac Newton.

The principle on which the planetary revolution is founded is gravitation. The laws of gravitation were known to the Hindus long before Sir Isaac Newton's time. Thus, the 6th, 7th, and 9th verses of the 3rd chapter of *Siddhánta Sirómani* state:—

(6th.) "The property of attraction is inherent in the earth. By this property the earth attracts any unsupported heavy thing towards it. The thing appears falling, but it is in a state of being drawn to the earth. The ethereal expanse being equally outspread all around, where can the earth fall?"

(7th.) "Observing the revolution of the constellations, the Buddhas thought that the earth had no support; and as no heavy body is seen stationary in the air, they asserted that the earth goes eternally downwards in space."

(9th.) "Observing, as you do, O Buddha, that every heavy

body projected into the air comes back again to, and overtakes, the earth, how can you idly maintain that the earth is falling down in space? If true, the earth being the heavier body, would perpetually gain on the higher projectile, and never be overtaken."

*Báskara-ásárijár*, the author of this work, was born in the year 1036 of *Sáliváhana* era, and composed it in the year 1072, corresponding with the year 1150 of the Christian era, or about 500 years before Sir Isaac Newton made the discovery of gravitation.

XI.—Now, lastly, about the Solar and Lunar Eclipses. The doctrine is the same in the European and Hindu sciences, though in Hindu mythology it is said that two serpents, called *Ráku* and *Kétu*, are hiding the sun and moon, and are causing the eclipses.

Of all the phenomena of the heavens, it is the eclipses of the sun and moon that attract the attention of man more than any other. In early ages of antiquity eclipses were regarded as alarming prognostications of public calamities and tokens of divine displeasure.

In México, during the times of eclipses, the natives fast and afflict themselves, thinking that the great spirit is in deep sufferance.

Some of the Indian tribes of North America imagine that the moon has been wounded in a war.

The prevailing notion among the Hindus, which they derived from the mythological legends of poetry, is that certain serpents swallow the sun and moon, sometimes partially, and sometimes entirely. But the true Hindu science accounts for the eclipses just in the same way as European science does.

*Súriya Siddhántam*, 4th chapter, 9th verse :—"The moon is the eclipser of the sun, coming to stand underneath it like a cloud; the moon moving eastward enters the earth's shadow, and the latter (*i. e.*, the shadow) becomes its eclipser."

This doctrine is in perfect accordance with the European.

It has been shewn that in many respects there is a perfect accordance between the Hindu and European astronomy. There are discrepancies in the theory and principles as regards some points, as inculcated in the Hindu science, but in almost all cases the result of the calculations as regards the several phenomena is the same as that of European astronomy, such as the lunar and solar eclipses, the position of planets, the retrogradation in planetary motions, &c.

It is not known what instruments were used by the ancient Hindus, but it is an undoubted fact that they had the use of some sort of instruments, without which it would not be possible to make the several calculations.

The 11th chapter of *Siddhánta Sirómaṇi* speaks of the use of certain instruments, such as armillary sphere, *nodi valāya*, *yashti*, *chan̄ka*, *ghaṭi*, circle, semi-circle, quadrant, *swayam váha yantra*, syphon, &c.

To once more quote Mr. Hoisington :

“The Egyptians, Chaldeans, Indians, and Chinese early possessed many astronomical facts, many observations of important phenomena, and many rules and methods of astronomical calculations; and it has been supposed that they had the ruins of a great system of astronomical science, which in the earliest ages of the world had been carried to a great degree of perfection, and that while the principles and explanations of the phenomena were lost, and isolated, unconnected facts, rules of calculation, and phenomena themselves remained.”

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## SCULPTURES AT HORANA.

BY JAMES G. SMITHER, F.R.I.B.A.

*(Read April 7th, 1881.)*

HAVING recently had occasion to visit Horana, a place distant about twelve miles inland from Pánaduré, I took the opportunity of inspecting some sculptured stones, which, with a few mouldings and some other fragments of an ancient building, lie half concealed by high grass and weeds behind the Government rest-house. There is nothing remarkable about the mouldings, but the sculptures are, I think, of sufficient interest to warrant my forwarding to the Society the following short description of them.

The sculptured stones form the vertical face of the stylobate or raised platform, on which, doubtless, formerly stood a structure, of which all vestiges have entirely disappeared.

The platform (only 35 feet square) was originally about three feet high above the paved open court round about it, and was approached by a single flight of steps at the end towards the east. The court or enclosure measures 58 feet from north to south, and 56 feet from east to west. It was surrounded by a stone wall, now broken down, and was entered at the east end opposite the above mentioned flight of steps leading up to the platform. The wall of the stylobate consisted of a moulded base, a sculptured die 14 inches high, and a moulded cornice, the latter nowhere now in position. Most of the stones forming the die have been removed quite away from the spot, but the sculptures upon the few which remain differ entirely from any in the same position which have hitherto come under my notice, and are particularly interesting.

The subject represented is a procession, in honor probably, of some august personage who most likely figured in part of it.

The occasion must have been an important and joyous one, judging from the great length of the procession, (which, with figures under a foot high and closely following one another, must have extended more than 100 feet,) and the wild demonstrations of delight in which all who are taking part in it are indulging.

Upon one stone, which measures 10 feet 6 inches in length, are nine male figures and two animals. This series commences with four dancing figures with musical instruments, followed by one who appears to be running in and out of the procession. Then comes a man leading a horse—probably a led horse of the honored personage—and holding an umbrella over the head of the animal; then a walking figure immediately followed by an elephant; and behind the elephant two men fencing with swords, each furnished with a shield.

On another stone measuring 4 feet 6 inches in length are five figures, all in the wildest dancing attitudes; one holds his left leg over his head with his right hand, and another flourishes a sword.

One stone, 3 feet 4 inches long, exhibits three dancing figures; and another, 3 feet long, two figures, one performing with a sword or stick which he holds with both hands.

A stone measuring 6 feet 4 inches in length differs from those above described, and must, I think, have formed one of the angle stones of the course. At one end of the stone is a narrow panel, and near the other end a similar panel, each containing a seated lion, the interval between the panels being occupied by three running nondescript horned animals somewhat resembling goats. In the small space left at the extreme end of the stone beyond the small panel stands a man blowing a horn, with his face turned away from the panel and in the direction of the advancing procession, which doubtless commenced on the next stone. The



three horned animals occur again on another stone, and are most likely part of a similar composition to that above described.

Unfortunately the whole of the sculptures are so much weather-worn and defaced, that it is very difficult to make out what some of them are intended to represent, and the details of dress, musical instruments, &c., are scarcely distinguishable. The absence of the stones which would complete the subject is much to be deplored, as well as the lamentable condition of those which remain; but the latter, even in their present state, are of so much interest, that they should certainly be preserved if possible, and the best means of doing so is to deposit them in the Colombo Museum.

The ruins at Horana have evidently been used as a quarry for some time past, and I observed that a fine carved stone doorway and other ornamental stones, which must have formed part of some ancient structure, (probably that under notice,) have been built into the walls of a Buddhist Temple, a most unsightly edifice, which has been very recently erected within 50 yards of the ruins.

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## GOLD.

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BY ALEX. C. DIXON, B. SC. (HONORS), LONDON.

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(Read April 7th, 1881.)

THE Island of Ceylon is referred to by Ptolemy as containing gold, and Solinus, a noted historian, makes mention of it in his works, A.D. 238. The early inhabitants of Ceylon were not ignorant of its presence. It is referred to in the Maháwanso, while during the founding of the Ruwanveli Dágoba at Anurádhapura there was a sudden appearance of sprouts of gold above and below the ground, and of silver in the vicinity of Adam's Peak.

It is also referred to in the Siphalese works entitled *Kadayimpot*, as being found in several localities; and the names of many places either have reference to its occurrence or to their glistening appearance resembling gold, such as *Ruwanvella*, *Ramboda* (formerly *Rangboda*).

The Siphalese name for gold is *ran*; for gold ore the term *amuran*, signifying not ripe or unextracted gold; while *ratran* refers to melted gold.

In 1854 it was found in the Maha-oya and at Nuwara Eliya, and still later again at Nuwara Eliya.

There is a great similarity between the hill regions of Ceylon and the South-East Wynaad district at the North-West base of the Neilgherries, which has recently become so prominent on account of its auriferous reefs. As to the probable age of these districts we are uncertain, but there can be no doubt that the two regions are contemporaneous, consisting of granitoid schists or gneissoid rocks, that they are highly metamorphosed, and that quartz reefs form a conspicuous feature.

The reefs are often white, occasionally somewhat brecciated, and not unfrequently bound together by hæmatite or limonite.

Although the strike of the rock is peculiar in the Neilgherries E.N.E., yet the auriferous reefs run N.N.W., corresponding with the gneiss a little further to the North. The general run of the rocks here is N. to N.W.

As on the Wynaad, we have an absence of intrusive rock—no dykes, porphyritic masses, or basalts. It has been observed that the auriferous belts are richest where micaceous and chloritic rocks occur. Strange to say, in the cuttings of the railway into our hill district, and the various cuttings on the public roads, no prominent reefs have been crossed. Probably one or more may be met with on the extension of the railway from Náwalapitiya to Nánu-oya. In several parts the country is traversed by large persistent reefs of quartz, with numerous narrow seams and veins diverging from them and often traceable into decomposed lithomargic earth. Some good examples of these are to be found in the Balangoda, Pusselláwa, Ramboda, and Dolosbágé districts.

The character of the vegetation in prospecting for gold is of great assistance in Australia, where each formation is characterized by distinct forms of vegetation, but in Ceylon we have no guidance, as the mountainous zone is but one formation.

Gold occurs in three chief forms :—

1.—As scattered grains or nuggets in alluvial deposits, having been set free by natural causes from its matrix.

2.—In grains and leaves in numerous veins, chiefly quartz, still in the matrix, but not with other metals. This is called *free gold*.

3.—Associated (but not chemically combined) with numerous other metallic compounds, such as arsenides, sulphides, &c., generally classed under the term *pyrites*, found in veins of quartz and other rock.

In the first form, I have met with it in the alluvium of the Deduru-oya beyond Kurunégala. The particles were exceedingly small, and other metallic matters were not uncommon.

This must have come from some quartz reefs further up in the hills. Its occurrence in this river is referred to in the *Kadayim-pota*.

A second instance of its occurrence in this form was in the Galle District, where a small nugget was taken from the alluvium accumulated in one of the ravines; it weighed over 6 grains, and was associated with fragments of gems, such as sapphire, garnet, chrysoberyl, tourmaline, zircon, as well as of sulphides of some rare metals. This deposit was due to disintegration from the matrix in which they occurred originally. I followed up the ravine to its head with the expectation of finding a quartz reef from which the gold must have been dislodged, and found two small reefs crossing it. I took specimens from these and found traces of gold, but not in sufficient quantity to warrant its being worked. I have had further specimens from this reef of a much better character.

In the second form it occurs in the Ramboda district, Central Province, where several remarkable reefs strike across the valleys. In one of my tours I gathered numerous specimens of quartz of various hues, chloritic and micaceous rocks. On breaking them up and examining, I found in the quartz traces of gold, a specimen of which is on the table. I am unable to give the precise locality.

In the third form it occurs in the pyrites of the gem-pits in the Ratnapura-Rakwana districts, but only in very small quantity.

From the little I have seen, it is my opinion that considerable quantities will yet be brought to light.

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*Specimens exhibited.*

1. Nugget of gold.—Galle District.
2. Associated Minerals of ditto.
3. Gold in quartz.—Central Province.

## SPECIMENS OF SINHALESE PROVERBS.

BY LOUIS DE ZOYSA, MAHA-MUDALIYÁR.

*Continued from No. 17, Vol. V. (1871-72), p. 32.**(Read April 7th, 1881.)*

167. අඩුකලේ දිය ගෙල වෙනවා. 167. The water in an unfilled pot makes a noise.  
*"A little learning is a dangerous thing."*
168. අන නොහොල්ලා කව හොල්ලන්ට බැහැ. 168. One cannot (expect to) move the mouth without moving the hands.  
*One cannot obtain a living without working for it.*
169. අතදිලා දතනියවන්ට එපා. 169. Do not give your hand, and then grin.  
*Do not give a man an undue advantage and afterwards repent of it.*
170. අත බලාලයි මුත බලන්නේ. 170. After looking at the hand (he) looks at the face.  
*The allusion is to the practice of receiving presents, or bribes, especially by men in authority.*
171. අතිරස තිත්තයි, පැමිණිදුක් පැණිරසයි. 171. Sweet cakes are bitter, but sweet are misfortunes.  
*Adversity is more enjoyable than prosperity.*
172. අතේනැති මුවටු ඇත්තේ මුදිත් එතරයි. 172. What one has not in one's hands may as well be looked for beyond the seas.  
*"A bird in the hand is worth two in the bush."*
173. අනුත්තේ ඇතේ කුණ කෙලමෝල්ලාන වාගේ 173. It is said the mote in another's eye appears like a

පෙණෙනවාලු, නමුත්තේ අ<sub>1</sub> තේ කුණ අබමල් රේණුවක් වාගේ පෙණෙනවාලු. rice-pounder: that in one's own eye like a mustard flower pistil.

174. අනුත්තේ මගල්දව වරෙන් මගේ ආදරේ පෙන් නන්ව. 174. Come on the wedding day of another to show my love (to you).

*Liberality at the expense of others. Like the English proverb, "Cocks are free of horse-corn."*

175. අනුත්තේ ඉස රදෙන් හොදයි. 175. Even the headache of another is good.

176. අම්මා අතේ හැන්ද නියෙනවානම් දරුවා බඩගින්නේ ඉඳියැයි? 176. Will the child starve, if the mother has the spoon in her hand?

177. අමුකළ කෙණෙක් අමු ගෙණියත්, වි කළ කෙණෙක් වි ගෙණියත්. 177. Those who have sown *amu* (fine grain) will reap *amu*, and those who have sown *vi* (paddy) will reap *vi*.

*Men are rewarded according to their deserts.*

178. කිඹුලාගේ දරුවන්ව පිණුම් උගන්නන්නේ කවුද? 178. Who teaches (needs to teach) the alligator's young to swim?

*"Teach your grandmother to suck eggs."*

179. කුඩා අ<sub>1</sub>මක් දමාලා මහමාලු මරන්නා වාගේ. 179. Like using small bait and killing large fish.

180. කුසල්හාමිනිවාට මො වද වේලක් කන්ව නැත්නම්. 180. What does it signify to be called *Kusalhāmi*, if one cannot procure a single meal.

*"Kusal-hāmi" means 'the fortunate one.'*

181. එක අ<sub>1</sub>හැකව අ<sub>1</sub>ත් නාම අනිත් අ<sub>1</sub>ගෙනුත් කළුළු එනවාලු. 181. When one eye is pricked, tears flow from the other eye also.

*Spoken of the sympathy existing between the members of one family or community.*

182. එකපිට දෙක දෙන කොට ද ගලවත් ගමන්යයි. 182. When one blow follows another, even the grinding-stone will begin to move.
183. එකසි කියාලයි දෙකසි කියන්නේ. 183. You must say 'one' before you (can) say 'two.'  
*"Romewasnotbuilt in a day."*
184. එක නරභකට ලිදේ පැන්නාම, දහ නරභකට ගොඩඑන්නට බැරිලූ. 184. They say that if you jump into a well on one provocation, even ten provocations will not enable you to get out of it.  
*Difficulties increase with anger.*
185. ඒදණ්ඩ ගියාට නොටු පල යයිද? 185. Although the bridge be washed away, will the ferry go too?  
*All hope is never lost.*
186. ඒරෝප්ට ගෙනිව් එත් බලලා ඤව් ඤව් කියාහි. 186. Though a cat be taken to Europe, it will cry *ñáw-ñáu* (mew-mew).\*
187. එනදට තංගුස් පොට ඔස්සේ එයි, යනදට තිත්තං කඹ පුපුරයි. 187. When it (good fortune) comes, it comes along a wire; when it goes, it breaks even ropes of hemp.  
*In prosperity slight efforts succeed; in adversity even the highest fail.*
188. නයා කීවත් කනවා, නයිහාමී කීවත් කනවා. 188. The cobra will bite (you) whether (you) call (it) *Nayá* (cobra) or *Nayihámi*. (Sir Cobra).
189. නරියාට අහුචුන කුකුලා වාගේ. 189. Like a fowl caught by a jackal.
190. නරියා සිංහනාද කලා වාගේ. 190. Like the jackal that imitated the roar of a lion.
191. නාකියාමැරෙන්නෙන් නැ, අඳ නිවාඩු වෙන්නෙන් නැහැ. 191. The old man does not die, nor is the bed available (for others).

\* *Cœlum, non animum, mutant qui trans mare currunt.*

192. නිකන් සම්බවෙන ඉසරදෙන් හොඳලු. 192. Even a headache is good, they say, if (only it can be had) gratis.
193. නියනැති දිවියාවාගේ. 193. Like a clawless cheta.
194. නුවන වැඩි මිනිසාට ඒදණ්ඩෙන් යන්ට බැරිලු. 194. They say a man of too much caution cannot cross an édaṇḍa.\*
195. තමුන් රුකිලයි දහම් රකින්නේ. 195. One must look to one's own interests before regarding those of others.  
*"Charity begins at home."*
196. දී කිරටසාක්කි බලල්ලු. 196. Cats give (true) evidence in favour of curds, 'tis said.  
*Used when interested parties speak well of their friends.*
197. දිනුම්පිලට හෝසියා. 197. *Hóyyá* (Hurrah !) for the winning side.  
*Spoken of time-servers, men who swim with the current.*
198. දුක්පත්කම ඉඩුල් පුදුන්වලටත් සැහැල්ලුයි. 198. Poverty is lighter even than silk-cotton.
199. තණ ඇති හරකාට කන්ට බැරැවාවාගේ. 199. Like the bull that has grass but cannot eat.
200. තනිගහ කවද උයන ක්වේද? 200. When will a single tree become a grove?
201. තරහ තමුන් නසයි, නුවන අනුන් නසයි. 201. Anger (in a man) ruins himself; wisdom (cunning) others.
202. අනුන්නේ රත්තරන් මන්දරන් මක්කරන්. 202. Other people's gold! Why should I take it? (or) What shall I do with it?  
*It is not right to covet the riches of others.*

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\* A log of wood placed across a stream, to serve as a bridge.



203. අනුන්ව කළදේ නමු  
න්ව පළදේ.

203. What you have done  
to others will bear fruit on  
yourself.

204. අඩුව නියෙද්දි අත  
සුළස්සාගන්නේ ඇයි?

204. Why burn your  
fingers when you have the  
pincers?

205. අමාරුවට හිගුරුවාල  
ඇල්ලුවා වාගේ.

205. Like clutching *Hin-  
guruwela* (a thorny creeper)  
when in trouble.

206. අමුණ කැඩුණද  
නැති තැයෝ මොවද?

206. What is the use of  
relations who do not help you  
when your dam is broken?

207. අමුණත් නැලිය පැ  
හෙනත් වැල්ලේහිස හොඳෙයි  
කියා නරියා කිව්ව.

207. It is reported that the  
jackal said, that although the  
yield for an *amuna*\* is but a  
*neliya*,† it is better to plough  
on the (sea) beach.

*This proverb is often in the  
mouth of people living on the sea  
coast to show their preference  
for it to interior districts.*

208. අසුම් කප්පරක් කැ  
බේලාව සුළු ගඳක් දැනේද?

208. Will the dog that has  
eaten a ship-load of dung,  
notice a little bad smell?

209. තැන්ගෙන් තැන්ග ට  
තුම තැන්ග.

209. The gift of a gift is  
the best gift.

210. ආවාරියාව මයිනාහම  
එපානම් මගේ බේලාවත් එපා.

210. If the blacksmith does  
not need the bellows, my dog  
even will not care for it.

*Much less do I care.*

211. අභිගොල්ල එක ඉත  
මේ කොක්කානම් පයිය වෙන  
වෙනමේ.

211. The *A'ndi*‡ are of  
one tribe, but each has a  
separate *Kokkánanpayiya*.§

\* The "*amuna*" equals about six bushels.

† The "*neliya*" equals  $\frac{1}{32}$  of a bushel.

‡ A tribe of Muhammadan fakírs who are professional beggars.

§ A bag in which a beggar puts his things.

212. අඹුනැත්තාට වී තිබුණු,  
වී තිබුණු හාල් නැලියලු, හාල්  
නැලියලු බත් නැබිලියලු, බත්  
නැබිලියලු බත් පිඩුණු.

212. It is said that a man who has no wife has a *timba* (four measures) of *vī* (unhusked rice); the *timba* gives him one *nēliya* of *hāl* (husked rice); this *nēliya* of *hāl* gives him one *nēbiliya*\* of *bat* (boiled rice), which gives him one mouthful.

*This is intended to shew the domestic value of a wife to her husband. The bachelor, or the widower, is robbed by every one whom he deals with.*

213. ඇතිලි පහම එකදිග  
යැයි?

213. Are the five fingers of the same length?

*All men have not equal advantages.*

214. මරණවා හොඳයි, කෙ  
ළහණවා නරකයි.

214. Murder is better than defamation.

215. ඇඹුකොටලු කිරිඑරෙ  
න්නේ.

215. The infant must cry, they say, for milk to rise in the mother's breast.

216. ඇඟලපෙරහැරට බෙ  
රන්ඇඳිද කියා එක්කෙණෙක්  
ඇහුවාය.

216. It is said that some one asked whether *tom-toms* were beaten at the *Ehela Perahera*. (July-August festival in Kandy)

*The beating of tom-toms forms a prominent part of this festival.*

217. කකුළුවා දියරත්වෙන  
තෙක් කරණ සෙල්ලමවාගේ.

217. Like the crab's sport (in the pot) till the water is heated.

*It is the practice to boil crabs alive. The proverb is applied to any short-lived enjoyment, to be succeeded by much suffering, especially to the enjoyment of sensual pleasures.*

\* *Nēbiliya*, an earthen dish in which rice is served.

218. කව නැත්නම් නර් 218. If not for his mouth  
බල්ලොත් ගෙණියත්. (loquaciousness) jackals and  
dogs would carry him off.

*Spoken of a poor and helpless man, but who is full of bluster. The idea is that the man appeared so weak and helpless that if he did not speak people would take him for a carcase.*

219. කවආත්තන්වලු රටත්. 219. They say, that those  
who have the mouth (braggarts) have also the country for themselves.

220. කව බොරුකියනත් 220. Although the mouth  
දිව බොරුකියනත් නැහැ. may (intend to) speak a lie, the  
tongue will not utter it.

*Spoken of a man who unintentionally speaks the truth.*

221. කවුමත් කවුම ගත් 221. If a thorn be not  
නවාමස කෙලමෝල්ලගහත් removed by a thorn, can it be  
කවුම ගනැක්ද? extracted by a rice-pounder?

*A delicate matter requires delicate treatment.*

222. කවුස්සාගේ කරේ 222. Like the bit of gold  
බැන්ද රත්රන්වික වාගේ. tied to the neck of the lizard.

*Applied to an upstart proud of the position he has acquired.†*

\* "He that has but impudence,  
To all things has a fair pretence;  
And put among his wants but shame,  
To all the world may lay his claim."

*Hudibrás, Part II., "Epistle to Sidrophel."*

† The following story has given rise to the above.—A certain king going to his pleasure garden observed a lizard nodding towards him, seated on the top of the gate-way. He enquired of the prime minister what the lizard meant. The minister replied that the lizard wished to pay obeisance to his majesty. The king, pleased, caused a bit of gold to be tied to its neck. A few days afterwards, the king passing through the same gateway saw the lizard seated as before, but it took no notice of the king. The king again enquired of the minister why the lizard did not salute him as before. The minister replied that the lizard thought that he was now on a par with the king, as he himself wore a gold ornament, and that he was not therefore bound to pay homage.

223. කණුව ගොඵවා වෑන් ද්‍රව්‍යය. 223. Like the dumb man saluting the blind man.
224. කණුව මගපෙන්වනු වාගේ. 224. Like pointing out the way to a blind man.
225. කණකුට දිකිරිවල කැටි කිවාය. 225. Like the description of *Dī kiri* (curds) which (a certain man) gave to a blind man.\*
226. කඩන්ට බැරි මල බුදුන්ට පූජවේවයි කිවාය. 226. Like (the man who) said of the flower he was unable to pluck: "Let it go as an offering to Buddha."
227. කන් කැවෝ කන් ලී කනවා. 227. Those who (formerly) eat pingo-loads (of presents) (have now to) eat pingo-sticks. Commonly said of men in authority losing their emoluments when once out of office.
228. කොකා මස්කන්ට මුද හිඳෙනකන් උන්නාය. 228. Like the crane who waited to pick fish till the sea dried up.
229. කථහාමිට අඤ්ඤා කැහිදුන්නා වාගේ. 229. Like the gift of the horse to *Kaḷuhāmi*.†

\* A blind man asked a friend what sort of a thing *Dī kiri* was. The other replied that it was "white as a chank." "What sort of a thing is the chank?" was the next enquiry. The friend closed his hand, and held it out to the blind man, saying that the chank was "like his fist." The blind man felt it, and exclaimed: "Oh! how difficult it must be to swallow curds, if like this?"

† The story alluded to is as follows:—A man who had been much emaciated by sickness went to a house to beg. The mistress of the house, struck with his appearance, enquired of him, "What is the matter with you?" The man replied, "I have returned from the other world"—a common expression amongst the Sinhalese, meaning that one has been very ill and narrowly escaped death. Then said the old woman, "You must have met my daughter *Kaḷuhāmi*." The man, perceiving that the old woman was a simpleton, said, "O yes, I am now married to her." The woman then collected all the jewellery which belonged to her deceased daughter, and, tying it in a bundle, handed it over to the man, saying, "Give this to your

230. කණකුව හුළුළියක්  
මොවද?

230. Of what use is a torch  
to a blind man?

231. කන්දපහල මළ ඇතා  
වළලන්ට කන්දට පාරකෙටුවා  
වාගේ.

231. Like opening up a road  
to a mountain to bury an ele-  
phant, which died at the foot.

*Adopting an absurd or im-  
proper course, or beating about  
the bush.*

232. කන්දට බල්ලා බිරු  
වාට කන්ද මිටිවේද?

232. Will the mountain  
grow smaller because the dog  
barked at it?

233. කපුරුලගේ පුතා දේ  
වාලේ රුත්තාට ගදගහන්නේ  
නැත්ත.

233. 'Tis said there is no  
stench when the *Kapurála's* son  
eases himself in the *Dévála*.

234. කපුරුහාමි කිවාට මො  
වද කට ගදගහනවානම්.

234. What is the good of  
calling a man *Kapuruhámi* if  
his mouth (breath) stinks?

*"Kapuruhámi"—a very com-  
mon name amongst Kandyans—  
literally means "Master Cam-  
phor."*

235. පිඹුරු දඩයමවාගේ.

235. Like the boa-constrictor's  
lighting upon a prey.

*A mere chance—a god-send.  
The Sinhalese believe that the  
boa constrictor does not search  
for prey, but trusts to accident  
to procure it.*

236. පිඹුරු මා වෙලාගනි.

236. The boa constrictor  
has seized me! \*

wife." On her husband's return home, she told him what had happened. The man, vexed at his wife's simplicity, mounted his horse and pursued the vagrant, who, seeing that he was followed, climbed a tree. The man left his horse at the foot of the tree, and climbed it to seize the thief, who, dexterously dropping down on the horse's back, rode off. Thereupon the old man shouted to the galloping rascal: 'Don't forget to tell *Kaḷuhámi*, that it was I who gave you the horse!'

\* The following story has given rise to the proverb.—A woman was in the habit of crying out, "The boa constrictor has seized me! The boa constrictor has seized me!" whenever she went to the well to draw water. Many a time her neighbours ran to her rescue, but, finding she only mocked them, ceased to notice her cries. One day she was actually seized by a boa constrictor, and, no one coming to her assistance, strangled in its folds. Compare "Wolf! Wolf!"

237. නමින් කොස්වත්තේ 237. "Jack-garden" by  
කන්ට පොලහක් නැත්තේ. name, he has not (even) a  
tender fruit to eat!
238. පද්දට පසුව නැතුවා 238. Heart-less as a *Paddá*.  
වැනේ.
239. මළත් කුළාගේ ඇට 239. 'Tis the bone of a wild  
යයි. (buffalo), dead though (he) be.  
*Although fallen, a great  
man should not be despised.*
240. පණින ගෝණුන්ට උල් 240. Do not (trouble to)  
නියන්ට එපා. put stakes in the way of leap-  
ing stags.  
*A mischievous man will come  
to grief without the interference  
of others.*
241. පස්විස්සත් විසිපහයි. 241. Five and twenty (of  
the one) and twenty-five (of  
the other).
242. පිනට පයින්ගහන්ටබැ. 242. One's good luck can-  
not be kicked off.
243. පුකුරුවෙන්ඇත කිඹු 243. Like the saying:  
ල්ල කීවාවැනේ. 'There may be alligators even  
in a jug of water.'
244. පැනි ඇත්නම් ඇඹල 244. Where there is honey,  
යෝ හිගතැ. there is no lack of ants.
245. පැඳිදිය බලබලා බො 245. Like drinking muddy  
රදිය බොන්නා වැනේ. water whilst looking at clear  
water.\*
246. ගතට තේදමට ඇග 246. Like refraining from  
තොසෝද උන්නාවැනේ. washing the body, to make the  
river feel.
247. ගඟ දුටුවාට පිපාස සං 247. Will the sight of (a)  
සිඳෙද? river quench (one's) thirst?
248. ගලේ ඉස හැපුවොත් 248. If you strike (your)  
ඉස පොඩිවෙනවාමිස ගල පොඩිවෙන්නේ නැත්ථි. head against a rock, (you) may  
break your head, but not the  
rock.

249. ගහ උඩ මිය දෑකලා ඇඟිල්ල ලෙවකැවෑඵ. 249. 'Tis said (he) licked his finger, seeing a bee-hive on a tree.\*
250. ගහේ කඩුව උල්කර න්ව එපා. 250. You need not sharpen the tree's thorns.
251. ගිනිපෙතෙල්ල උණු වතුරේ එඩුවත් ඇල්වතුරේ එඩුවත් එකවැගෙයි. 251. 'Tis the same whether (you) dip a firebrand in hot, or cold, water.
252. ගිසි හාවාගේ කකුල් අටයි. 252. The hare that has escaped had eight legs.
253. ගිය හකුරට නාඩන් හේ, නියන හකුර රැකගන්න. 253. Cry not for the jaggery (you have) lost; take care of the jaggery (you) have.
254. ගුරුන් නැතුව හකුරු කන්වත් බැරිදු. 254. They say that (one) cannot even eat jaggery without a teacher.
255. ගොඩ ඉදගනි මරු පෙරළන්නා වාගේ. 255. Like upsetting boats whilst remaining on land.  
*Spoken of men who pretend to take part in the ventures of others, while avoiding risk for themselves.*
256. ගොණන් මීමත් ඇඳු වා වාගෙයි. 256. Like yoking together bull and buffalo.
257. ගොඵවා දුටු හිතේ වාගේ. 257. Like the dumb man's dream.
258. දෙන්න දෙමහල්ලන් ගේ සන්ඩුව බත්භාලිය පැහෙ තකත් විතරයි. 258. The quarrel between husband and wife lasts only till the rice-pot is boiled.  
*Conjugal quarrels are of short duration.*

\* Cf. Hudibras, Part II., Canto III., 923-4 :—

"To swallow gudgeons ere they're catch'd,  
And count their chickens ere they're hatch'd.

259. ජනියක් නහන්ට එ කෙක් ඇති. 259. One individual can ruin a whole community.

260. උඹ මරුණෙන් රට ඇතුන්ට යාවි. 260. If you die, the country will go to the elephants.

*That is, "You speak so much of yourself that one would think on your death the human race will become extinct, and the country will be left to wild beasts."*

261. නිසාවැව් මෙහේ නි යෙද්දි පද්දගේ ලබ්බෙන් වතු රබ්බාවාගේ. 261. Like drinking water from a *Padda's* pumpkin when the *Tisáwewa* (tank) is before (one).

262. තොටගමුවේ උපන් නාට මොවද බණ්ඩාරිනම්. 262. What is the use of being born at *Totagamuwa*, if you are not versed in *Baṇa* (Buddhist scriptures)?

*Totagamuwa\* was the birth-place of Sri Ráhula Sthavira, the well-known author of Kávyasekhara, &c.*

263. මහ නැව් යන මුදේ කුඩා මරුන් යනවා. 263. Tiny boats (even) venture on the sea where large ships sail.

264. බුද්ධියාගන්ට නැතකුත් ගෙරවන්ට නැතකුත් ඇයි? 264. Why have one place to sleep, and another to groan?

265. බොරුවට ආයුස නැ. 265. A lie is short-lived.

266. බෙල්ලනැතුව නැල්ල අදින්නේ කොහොමද? 266. How can the neckless wear a neck-lace?

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\* This village, situated twelve miles from Galle on the high road to Colombo (Gangaboda-pattu), obtained a few years back so unenviable a notoriety for cattle stealing, burglaries, and highway robberies, that the proverb was commonly quoted in the district: "*Totagamuwé upannáṭa moṭada horakama berinam*"—"What's the use of being born at *Totagamuwa*, if you know not (the art of) *stealing*!"



## CEYLON BEE CULTURE.

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 BY SAMUEL JAYATILAKA, MUDALIYÁR.
 

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(Read April 7th, 1881.)

I have been interested in the culture of the honey bee of Ceylon for about the last 25 years, from accidentally observing at first the mode of bee-keeping by bee-hunters and others in the Wanní, a remote part of this district (North-Western Province.) I set myself to work at once in trying to improve the system. By the courtesy of Mr. Ferguson, the senior Editor of the "Ceylon Observer," I was enabled to secure works on practical bee-keeping, and by carefully reading these I endeavoured to improve the primitive means adopted by the native apiarists, but without success. My thanks are also due to E. T. Sharpe, Esq., and R. Morris, Esq., who encouraged me much in the pursuit of my experiments by getting out for me English bee-hives and apparatus for working them.

There are four species of honey-bees in Ceylon:—

- 1.—Mí—මී: *Apis Indica*;
- 2.—Danduwel—දඳුවෙල්: *Apis Florea*;
- 3.—Bambará—බඹරා: *Apis Dorsata*; and
- 4.—Kana Veyiyá—කනවෙයි‍යා: *Trigonæ*.

The *Mí Messá* (*Apis Indica*) is the common honey-bee of Ceylon, and the only species kept by natives. I have had a few colonies of these from the very beginning, and in the way of improvement I have transferred them to pots of quite a different shape from the ordinary narrow-mouthed pitchers used by natives, which required the destruction of the pot to get at the honey, thereby causing considerable destruction to bee-life. The pots I substituted are in two sections: the first section or entrance narrow-mouthed and oblong, which fits

into the second, which is flat and deep. When the first section, or mouth-piece with an opening of about 10 in. across, is taken up, the honey-combs are easily removed without any injury to the combs or to the bees, leaving the brood combs intact within it. Directly the honey-combs are removed the mouth-piece is again replaced, tied fast, and placed in its proper position, when all the bees return to it and begin to work as if they were never disturbed. At this critical stage, however, they are fed for a few days with jaggery and water, which is made into a thin light syrup, and placed close to the mouth of the pot in a flat vessel. In this manner I have always had a supply of honey for house use, and occasionally to spare for my friends. With regard to the English bee-hives, I have made little or no progress with them. The bees take to them easily, but it is an effort to keep them in long, as they shew a disposition to get out. By continual feeding they may be regularly established in them, and when once established they keep on and build their combs and fill the stock hive; but I have never been successful in inducing them to take to supers, which may be attributed to my want of ingenuity and experience to adapt the frames to their mode of comb-building, or to the bees preferring pots, which are I believe cooler than the boxes.

The bees are easily moved about in combs in frame boxes, and hence it is my impression that they can be by competent persons easily reared according to the European system, and with profit and advantage.

The native system of bee-keeping is very simple indeed. They invariably sweeten the pot intended to be used as a hive by fumigating it with resin, and place it in a cool elevated position, smearing the mouth of the pot with a little honey during the swarming season. The wild bees take to them without the least trouble and begin building their combs, and filling them. When the proper season comes round they break the pots, blow into them to drive the bees aside, and abstract

all the honey as well as the brood combs ; the former they retain, and the latter are thrown away, a great waste of material and reckless destruction of bee-life. When the next swarming season comes round, which is between March and April, a fresh pot is fumigated with resin, is placed in the same position for the next supply of honey, which is obtained in July or August. The largest supply the natives so obtain is about three or four bottles of liquid honey. With regard to the wild bees they always build in the crevices and hollows of rocks and trees, and, if not removed by bee-hunters in proper season, they themselves consume the produce of their labour, and abandon the empty combs and betake themselves to the woods ; and it is firmly believed by the natives, that when the swarming season comes round they return to their old haunts and set to work again.

2nd.—*Dandumel* (*Apis Florea*) is an unprofitable bee, producing very little honey. It attaches its solitary semi-circular combs 9 in. by 5 in. to the branch of a tree. Its honey is esteemed by the natives as being cool and nice, but this species is not at all adapted for rearing purposes, as its produce is very scanty.

3rd.—*Bambará* (*Apis Dorsata*) is a large bee prettily marked with yellow and black, and makes a large quantity of honey varying from two to three gallons. It constructs its hive, a large thick comb about  $3\frac{1}{2}$  ft. by  $2\frac{1}{2}$  ft. in a peculiar shape, attaching it to the branches of very lofty forest trees, or securing it to the ledges of high rocks with its two ends fastened up, and having a narrow opening in the middle. It is with great difficulty got at by bee-hunters, and only by those used to such kind of work.

At the proper season three or four experienced men start on the expedition armed with knives and ropes and a quantity of straw and other materials (for smoking and burning the bees). Having reached the woods where the bees are located the hunters commence operations on a calm day. First they smoke

out the bees by a heavy fire of straw, when the bees fly high in the air in a straight line ; meanwhile one of the hunters cuts the hive, and lowers it down by means of a rope attached to a basket, and hastens down in time to avoid being stung ; his companions, who preceded him, throw the hive into the fire directly it comes down, in order to burn all the straggling bees in the comb, and remove away the hive at once, for the Bambara when provoked are very persistent in stinging, and the poison is as virulent as that of a wasp. People are known to have been stung to death by swarms of these. This is not to be wondered at, considering that they go to work without any protection to their naked bodies. It is believed—and my experience corroborates the belief—that they do not rebuild their hives in the same place unless a portion of the comb is left behind with the queen bee uninjured. The honey of this bee is very rich in flavour and highly esteemed, and is considered an uncommon luxury among the natives. It is not however so thick as the common bee honey. I have never heard of any attempts being made by natives to domesticate them like the common honey bee of Ceylon ; and it is my impression that any amount of exertion to domesticate them will prove fruitless. One of the peculiar characteristics of this species is that, unlike the common bees, they go about gathering materials for the construction of their hives only during the evening twilight, and myriads of them are seen at that hour in the Mora, Kon, and other flowering forest trees during the season.

4th.—*Kana Veyiyá* (a tiny bee belonging to the Trigonæ), produces a small quantity of honey which it makes in the hollows of rotten trees and crevices of rocks and dilapidated buildings. I have seen and examined a great many of these combs, which are irregular in shape; they never yield more than a tea-cupful of honey, which has a rather acid taste, and is only used for medicinal purposes. Their combs are generally about four or five inches in circumference, and the cells partially filled

with honey and the rest with their brood, like other honey bees, and kept separate. When interfered with or disturbed, they would buzz about one's ears and nostrils, but in other respects they are perfectly harmless and may be easily handled.

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Since writing the above I have been taken by surprise by Mr. Benton, a good authority on Bee Culture. His visit to Kuru-négala is for the purpose of hunting up the Bambará (*Apis Dorsata*). A narration of his valuable experience has afforded me much information, and I indulge in the hope that this will enable me to compete with my difficulties more successfully in the future.

A person of Mr. Benton's acknowledged ability and experience would do much for Ceylon in opening up a branch of industry so easily conducted and yielding so large a return, but of which the natives are so lamentably ignorant.

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## A SHORT ACCOUNT OF THE PRINCIPAL RELIGIOUS CEREMONIES OBSERVED BY THE KANDYANS OF CEYLON.

BY C. J. R. LEMESURIER, C.C.S.

(Read May 7th, 1881.)

1.—THE religious ceremonies of the Kandyans begin with that of New Year—the *Anurudu Mangaliya*. This commences at a lucky hour, fixed by the astrologers, on the 11th of April. During the short interval that precedes it, while the old year is passing away, no food is eaten save that which has been prepared before that interval; and the people do not wash, work, spend money, or give alms. At the lucky hour (the *Nekata*) a gun is fired from a parapet on the walls of the temple containing the Sacred Tooth at Kandy, and the New Year begins. The customary daily ceremonies are then observed, but with more show than usual. The tom-toms are more vigorously beaten, the tenants of the temple and the priests put on their best clothes; and the services are more sumptuously performed. Milk is boiled in the main entrance to the temple, and is afterwards sprinkled over the floors. During the days of the kingdom, the king himself used to attend the opening services; but now the Diyawādāna Nilamé and other influential Buddhists take his place.

The offerings are much better than usual, and more neatly and extravagantly prepared. If the lucky hour is in the morning, rice and curry and sweetmeats are offered; the curry being of thirty, and the sweetmeats of thirty-two kinds. If the lucky hour falls in the evening, drinkables are presented. Besides these, it is usual for the wealthy to offer robes, fans, cloths, and other articles of value to the priesthood. At the beginning of the

year all Buddhists wash, and confine themselves to certain victuals prescribed by the astrologers. All work is abandoned for a certain specified time; and after the usual religious rites have been performed, the people engage in games of various descriptions. These they break off and resume at stated periods. During the intervals they pray, or have the scriptures read to them by their priests, or visit their friends, according as their fancies or opportunities dictate. The priests confine themselves for the most part to their religious duties : or they keep away from the busy world and meditate ; it being considered that the New Year is a peculiarly fitting time for the exercise of this duty.

2.—The next in importance is the *Perahēra Mangalyaya*, the great processional festival of the Kandyans. This festival is begun at Alutnuwara in the Badulla district on the first day after the full moon in May; and is repeated at different times in different parts of the Kandyan province. The forms in all cases are the same, though of course the magnificence of the ritual varies with the place and the means of those who engage in it. The most magnificent and complete is that at Kandy, which begins at a lucky hour on the first day after the new moon in the month of *Ēsala* (July-August). A jack tree, the stem of which is three spans in circumference, is selected beforehand for each of the four *déwála*—the Kataragama, Náta, Saman, and Pattini ; and the spot where it stands is decorated and perfumed with sandal-wood, frankincense, and burnt raisins, and a lighted lamp with nine wicks is placed at the foot of the tree. At the lucky hour a procession of elephants, tom-tom beaters, and dancers proceeds to the spot; the tree is cut down by one of the tenants (the *wattórurála*) with an axe, and it is trimmed, and its end is pointed by another with an adze. It is then carried away in procession, and placed in a small hole in a square of slab rock, buried in the ground or raised on a platform in the small room at the back of the *déwálé*. It is then

covered with a white cloth. During the five following days the procession is augmented by as many elephants, attendants, dancers, tom-tom beaters and flags as possible; and it makes the circuit of the temple at stated periods. The processions of the several temples are then joined by one from the Daladá Máligáwa (the temple of the Sacred Tooth), and together they march round the main streets of Kandy at fixed hours during the five days next ensuing. On the sixth day, and for five days more, four palanquins—one for each déwálé—are added to the procession, containing the arms and dresses of the gods; and on the last day the bowl of water (presently to be explained) of the previous year, and the poles cut down on the first day of the ceremony. On the night of the fifteenth and last day, the Perahera is enlarged to the fullest limits which the means of the several temples will permit, and at a fixed hour, after its usual round, it starts for a ford in the river near Kandy, about three miles distant from the temple of the Sacred Tooth. The procession from the Máligáwa, however, stops at a place called the A'dáhana Maluwa in Trincomalee-street, and there awaits the return of the others. The ford is reached towards dawn, and here the procession waits until the lucky hour (generally about 5 A.M.) approaches. A few minutes before its arrival the chiefs of the four temples, accompanied by a band of attendants, walk down in Indian file under a canopy of linen and over cloths spread on the ground to the waterside. They enter a boat and are punted up the river close to the bank for some thirty yards. Then at a given signal (*i. e.*, at the advent of the lucky hour) the four jack poles are thrown into the river by the men on shore, while each of the four chiefs, with an ornamental silver sword, cuts a circle in the water; at the same time one attendant takes up a bowl of water from the circle, and another throws away last year's supply. The boat then returns to the shore, the procession goes back to Kandy, the bowls of water are placed reverently in the several déwála, to remain there



until the following year; and the Perahēra is at an end. The next day, however, there is a grand winding up procession in the afternoon, after which the chiefs all pay their respects to the Government Agent of Kandy as the representative of the Queen.

3.—The *Was Mangalyaya*. On the day after the full moon in July, the elders of the village visit their village priest, or any other priest they may have selected, and ask him to stay with, and minister to, them for three months. They promise to give him a place of residence, to feed him and render him any service he may require during that period. The request is complied with, and a procession is organized to conduct him to the place prepared. Here he remains for the stated period. He cannot leave except under certain ceremonies; and at no time can he be absent for more than seven days. On a fixed day in October, determined on beforehand by the elders of the village and communicated to the priest, he is requested to invite a certain number of his brotherhood to the last ceremony. The number varies according to the means and generosity of the villagers. On the day named, these priests assemble and are sumptuously fed in the morning by the villagers. After the meal is over a sheet of white cloth, twenty cubits in length, is presented to the priests, who thereupon divide it into fifteen rectangular pieces, and these they join together again into the shape of a priest's robe—a large rectangle, five cubits long, and four and a-half cubits broad. The object of this division and re-joining being to destroy the value of the cloth, and to carry out the rule that no priest may wear a robe of one piece. It is then taken by the dhoby of the village under a canopy to a neighbouring stream, and publicly washed; tomtoms and trumpets being sounded in the meanwhile. When washed, it is brought back to the hall where the priests are assembled, and placed in a small vessel containing the proper yellow dye. After it has remained in this a sufficient time, it

is taken out and presented by the chief elder of the village as a common offering to the priesthood. The chief of the assembled priests thereupon puts the question, "Who here requires a robe?" to which all but the Was priest reply, "We have robes already." Then another priest says: "They have kept the Was priest so long here; let us give it to him." This is agreed to, and two other priests at once rise and chant the refrain:—"A robe has been presented to the priesthood, and we have agreed to present it to [naming the Was priest.]" One of them accordingly takes the robe, hands it round to each priest in turn, so that all may touch it, and then gives it to the Was priest. He puts it on, wet as it is, over his shoulder, makes a mark in a corner, repeats a stanza of Bana (the sacred scriptures), presses it over his other robes, and then hangs it up to dry in view of all. He is obliged to carry this robe, either on his body or in a bundle, for three months before it can be washed; and he always looks upon it with a certain degree of pride. A second robe is, however, usually presented afterwards to him; the first being considered as an offering to the priesthood in general, the second as a present to the individual priest.

4.—Next in order is the *Keti Mangalyaya*: so called because on this day the full moon and the Keti Nekata (the lucky hour) come together. It takes place on the full-moon day immediately after the termination of the previous—i.e., the Was festival. On this day all the temples are brilliantly illuminated. This is done by means of small oil lamps, placed close together all round the buildings. During the night a procession of elephants, flags, tom-toms, etc., and a large number of torches, is kept up for many hours; the effect in Kandy, in conjunction with the illuminated temples, being very striking. It is customary also at this festival to make offerings of fans, robes, begging bowls, cloths, etc., to the recent Was priests.

5.—The *Alutsál Mangalyaya*, or festival of the new rice. This festival takes place on the full-moon day in January. At the appointed hour, a large procession consisting of certain officers and the representatives of certain temples, with their attendants, elephants, etc., proceeds to the village of Gurudeniya in Lower Héváhēṭa, and there receives a fixed share of the new rice and of the rice of the previous year; the villagers of Gurudeniya having originally obtained their lands from the king of Kandy on condition of devoting a certain portion of their harvests to this purpose. A fixed quantity is given to each; but as this in many cases is very small, it is seldom that all the temples and officers are represented. I however annex an interesting list (*vide* Appendix) shewing how the rice should be distributed, and during the time of the kings all the persons to whom rice was due were compelled to be present. The distribution takes place at the *déwálé* at Gurudeniya; and in the case of temples the rice is taken home in procession and cooked on the following morning. It is then offered at the shrine, and afterwards distributed to the different priests and officers.

6.—*Nánumura Mangalyaya*: the ceremony of purification. This is performed every Wednesday morning in every temple erected by the Kandyan kings, as follows. Some lime juice is made before the daily rice is offered, and is mixed with cuscus, sandal, and other fragrant herbs and bark. The officiating priest takes a looking-glass, and, holding it in front of the shrine, anoints the reflected image with the preparation. A vessel is held under to catch the liquor as it drops, to prevent it from falling to the ground. The liquor is then thrown away and the daily offerings are made.

7.—The reading of *Baṇa*, or the sacred scriptures. This is done for the most part on the “*póya*” days of the month—*i.e.*, the four phases of the moon. The officiating priest, being seated on an elevated seat made for the purpose, recites passages from the Buddhist scriptures, generally from some portion of a

Piṭaka\* and then explains the meaning to his audience. For this service he is lodged and fed during the time of his ministry and is afterwards presented with robes, white cloths, handkerchiefs, etc., and sometimes money.

8.—*Pirit*, a ceremony to ward off evil. This is generally performed on the occasion of some epidemic, or in the case of serious illness. A large hall, called a Baṇa Maḍuwa, is prepared and decorated, and as many priests as possible are invited to take part in it, the number never being less than thirty. The floor of the hall is covered with mats, over which white cloths are spread. Cushions are placed all round for the priests, two for each, one to sit upon and the other to lean against. A low platform is erected in the middle, on which a table is placed, with two chairs on one side. This table is covered with a cloth, and the *Pirit* book is put upon it. A relic in the usual bell-shaped casket, called a karanduwa, is placed on a second table close by, and a bowl of water, taken from a newly-dug well in the vicinity, is put on a bench beside it. A piece of string is attached to the karanduwa and to the *Pirit* book, and is then carried up to a ring in the ceiling and thence down to the ground. It is of sufficient length to be held by all the priests when they are assembled, and sitting round the room; and during the ceremony they all hold it. On the appointed day the priests are brought in procession to the hall; their feet are washed at the entrance, and they are escorted to their places along stretched-out cloths. The place is consecrated and the deity is invoked, while the hall is perfumed with incense and tom-toms are beaten. An elder of the village then steps forward, and requests the priests assembled to open the *Pirit*, and to continue it for seven days. The priests assent, and thereupon dedicate the hall to that purpose. They then

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\* The records of the teachings of Buddha are contained in the three Piṭakas—i.e., the Sūtra, Vinaya, and Abhidharma Piṭaka.

return for the night to the place prepared for them. At day-break next morning they re-assemble, and begin the Pirit. This is done by two of their number seating themselves at the table, and reciting the opening service of the Pirit-book ; the other priests in the meantime holding their fans in front of them, and the string above described over their knees. When the invocation and one Sūtra\* have been read, the two seat themselves by the others, and all joining in chorus recite three particular Sūtras : the Mangala (of festivals), the Ratana (of the means of warding off disease), and the Karaṇīyametta (of the methods whereby dangers may be avoided and prosperity obtained by gods and men). When these are ended two other priests come forward, seat themselves at the table, and go on with the next Sūtras, while the others all retire. Every two hours the readers are relieved ; and three times a day all re-assemble, and repeat in chorus the three Sūtras before mentioned. There is no break in the continuity, as this would mar the whole effect ; and the reading continues for seven days. On the sixth night the last seven Sūtras in the book are read over and over again, either by twos or fours ; if the latter, two more chairs are brought in and placed at the table opposite the first two. On the morning of the seventh day after the early meal, one of the priests reads the vihára Asne, the list of the names of the ancient temples in Ceylon and elsewhere ; and then the assembled priests, with the exception of those who are reading the Pirit—for the reading still goes on—compose the Déwála Patraya. This is a letter written on an ola, and addressed to the presiding deity of a neighbouring temple. It sets out the name of the déwálé, and invokes the deity to attend the Pirit with the other gods. This is taken in procession to the temple—or, if there is no déwálé in the

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\* The Sūtras are a collection of the counsels of Buddha and form a portion of the three Piṭakas.

neighbourhood, to a bó-tree, where a god is supposed to reside, and carried by a villager, dressed to represent an angel, in many-coloured cloths and a Kandyan hat. The priests, except those who are reading, accompany the procession if desired. A portion of the water from the bowl in the hall is taken too; and this is sprinkled over any sick persons that may be met with along the way. On arrival at the déwále, the letter is presented, and is hung upon the wall. The procession returns; and the "angel" reports at the door of the hall that he has presented the letter, and that the gods have come. One of the priests blesses the gods, and the *Mangala Sútra* is read over once, after which the *A'tánāṭiya Sútra* is read over and over again by fours till dawn. The ceremony is then at an end; and the priests are conducted back to their residence.

9.—*Gódána Mangalyaya*: the ceremony performed for the very aged, or those who are about to die. The relations of the dying man are assembled, and offerings of different kinds are collected. These consist sometimes of cattle, sometimes of furniture, such as the bed of the sick man, sometimes of his implements of agriculture or of his trade, but more often they are merely cloths, robes, fans, etc.

The priest of the neighbouring pansala (residence of the priesthood), and any others that may be selected, are summoned and entertained; and the offerings are made to them. They read a portion of the scriptures suitable to the occasion, and bless the sick man; after which, escorted by the assembled company, they depart with their presents.

10.—*Mataka Dána*: the ceremony of conferring merit on the dead.

On the seventh day after death the priest of the neighbouring pansala is invited back, and is entertained as before. *Bana* is read till midnight, when he retires. In the morning after the early meal a cloth is presented to him, and he is escorted by

the friends and relations of the deceased to a prepared spot near the house. Here the plate and cup that had been used by the dead man are deposited; and cake and rice are put into the plate, and water is poured into the cup. A light is set up by their side, and incense is burnt; while the priest invokes the deceased in the following words: "Take this rice, water, cake, light and fragrance, and release thyself from the condition of an evil spirit." At the same time he takes the cup of water and pours it on the ground. The plate and cup are washed; and the priest carries them off to his residence. The object of the ceremony is to confer merit on the departed, in whatever condition he may have been re-born.

10.—*Awa Mangalyaya*. A day is fixed, a month, forty-five days, or three months after the Gódána; of which due notice is given. A number of priests are invited, through the priest of the neighbouring Pansala, the number varying with the means of the family; and rice, cakes, fruit, etc., are collected. The priests are brought in procession to the house, where they read the scriptures for several hours. After this, robes, begging-bowls, cups, handkerchiefs, etc., are presented to them; and a common offering, consisting of a load of vegetables, cakes, an adze, a mamoty, an axe, an arecanut-cutter, a chunam-box, and (if the deceased was an old man), a betel-pounder, is placed before them. A cloth not less than 16 cubits in length, and held at one end by the relations of the deceased, is then tied to the load, a priest holding it meanwhile near the other end. Another priest takes his seat close by; and, holding his fan in front of him, recites the following words, the people repeating them after him:—"These offerings, which have been procured by just means by us and the dead man, we offer to you, the descendants of the great Buddha, in order that we may obtain merit in the name of the deceased." The cloth is then rolled up and placed on the offering, and the eldest priest intones the stanza: "As the

rain from the sky falls on hills and mountains, rolls down the valleys, and thence to the rivers, which carry the waters to the ocean; so may the merits of this great act descend on the dead man." Upon this the remainder chime in with the prayer: "If there be anything you wish to obtain by these offerings, may you be blest with it as with the full moon." Bana is then read for about an hour; and after it a priest closes the ceremony with the words:—"By these virtuous acts may you all obtain prosperity here and in the next world, and attain Nirwána at last."

I was going to add a short account of the ordination and confession ceremonies of the priesthood; but my paper has run out to too great a length already. An exhaustive account of these will, however, be found in two papers contributed to the Royal Asiatic Society by Mr. J. F. Dickson in 1873 and 1875, and I need do no more here than merely refer to them.

Kandy, 2nd April, 1881.

## APPENDIX.

The new rice (Alutsál) is distributed as follows:—

	Half Measures.
To the Daladá Máligáwa, the temple of the Sacred Tooth ...	10
Gangáráma Viháré, a temple in Kandy ...	2
Kundásále Viháré, a few miles from Kandy in Lower Dumbara	2
Degaldoruwa Viháré, do. do. ...	2
Náta Déwálé, in Kandy ...	4
Maha Déwálé do. ...	4
Pattini Déwálé do. ...	4
Kataragam Déwálé do. ...	3
Ganadewi Kówila, a Hindu temple near the Post Office, Kandy	1
Diwa Nilamé, the lay officer in charge of the Tooth Temple ...	30



Half  
Measures.

The four Basnáyaka Nilames, the lay officers in charge of the Náta, Maha, Pattini, and Kataragama Déwála	... 32
The four Kapurállá, the lay officiating officers of the same	... 4
The Tambórukárayá, the officer who beats the drum ( <i>tambóruwa</i> ) on all Póya days, on Wednesdays, and on the four festival days, (the Awurudu, Perahera, Katti, and Alutsál)	... 1
The Gurudeniya Vidáné, the officer who supervises the cultivation of the Máligáwa muttettu fields ( <i>i. e.</i> the fields that are cultivated for the benefit of the temple only), the gathering of the crop and the storing in the granary ( <i>aṭuwa</i> )	... 6
The Gurudeniya Lékama, the officer who keeps the account of the annual yield of the temple fields and of the new rice distributed	... 6
The Gurudeniya Gammahé, an assistant to the Vidáné	... 5
The Gurudeniya Manárála, the officer who measures the crop of every temple field when it is gathered, and the receipts and issues of the granary. He also measures the new rice	... 5
The Gurudeniya Kapurála, the lay officiating officer of the Gurudeniya Déwálé	... 2
The six Nilakárayó of Gurudeniya, the villagers who cultivate the temple fields and who prepare the new rice	... 24
The tom-tom beaters of Gurudeniya	... 12
The Astrologer of the Tooth temple	... 5
The Káriyakaranarála, the officer in charge of the minor property of the Tooth Temple, who has the general supervision of the temple affairs	... 5
The Geparála, the officer who carries the silver water vessel used for officiating purposes, who cleans and lights the lamps of the upper story of the Tooth Temple, who has to take care of and account for all the offerings delivered to him by the Wattóru-rála (see below)	... 5
The Three Mohottállá. They are the Uḍamálé (of the upper story), the Gabaḍáwé (of the store) and the Walawuwé (of the Diwa Nilamé's house. The first has to keep an account of all	

Half  
Measures.

things (not being food or drink) offered or received at the Tooth Temple; the second of all eatables and drinkables; and the third of the income and expenditure of the establishment...	15
The Wattórurála : Has to keep the keys of the upper story, to assist the two officiating priests, to open the doors of the temple every day, and to clear the offering table of flowers, &c., thrice a day	5
The Kankánarála : Holds the keys of the store and issues provisions	5
The four Kattiyanarállá: bring the new rice from Gurudeniya in decorated loads to the temple, fill the golden bowls with it, and deliver these bowls to the officiating priests	12
The Pallémálerála, the officer in charge of the lower story of the temple with the same duties as the Wattórurála	5
The three officiating priests at the Tooth Temple, two for the upper, one for the lower story	15
The Kiribatpáttará, large bowls which are filled with the allotted quantity of rice, and boiled by the Nilakárayó ( <i>i.e.</i> the cultivators of the temple fields) of the ten Nindagam—( <i>vide</i> below)	80
[When boiled, the rice is offered at the Tooth Temple and afterwards distributed amongst these Nilakárayó.]	
The dancers of the Máligáwa	5
The Baddé Vidáné: Has to give six large chatties to the six Nilakárayó of Gurudeniya, to boil the paddy for the Alutsál, to present a load of chatties at Gurudeniya on the Alutsál day, and once a month to the Máligáwa, and two at the end of the year—one for the Diwa Nilamé and the other for the Káriyakarana-rála	5
The Hakgedikára Appulá, the officers who blow the conch and clear away the rubbish from the temple...	4
The A'lattiyá. [I am not quite sure what the functions of this officer are]	5
The Horan-ékárayá, the trumpeter of the temple	5

	Half Measures.
The Librarian of the Oriental Library ...	5
The watchers at the temple ...	4
The head watcher at the temple ...	2
The dhoby at the temple ...	5
The Singárakkára Muhandirama, the officer who provides and appoints the tom-tom beaters of the Máligáwa ...	5
The four Pañikkiyó, the four principal tom-tom beaters : Of 1, Ihala Dołospattu; 2, Pahala Dołospattu; 3, Mátalé; 4, Dumbara ...	12
The man who fires the festival cannon at the Máligáwa ...	2
The two Vihára, the Malwatta and Asgiriya temples in Kandy...	70
The two Mahanáyaka, the chief priests of these ...	15
The two Anunáyaka, the second chief priests of these ...	15
The ten Nindagam: <i>i.e.</i> villages to which there are temple fields, 1, Kalugomuwa in Uđapaláta; 2, Piligalla in Four Kóralés; 3, Alapalá in Yařinuwara; 4, Radágoda in Yařinuwara; 5, E'danduwáwa in Uđunuwara; 6, Muřwatugoda in Yařinuwara; 7, Angoda in Hárispattu; 8, Aludeniya in Uđunuwara; 9, Piřigoda in Uđa Dumbara; 10, Kitulpé in Uđa Héwáheřa ...	20
The Vidáné of Gandahaye, the officer who supervises the cultivation in these villages... ..	20
The dhoby at Gurudeniya ...	5
The watcher at the granary at Gurudeniya ...	2
The tailor who has to prepare the elephants' trappings, the flags, canopies, &c., for the different festivals ...	2
The constable (a private constable who accompanies the procession and keeps guard over the Máligáwa). ...	2
The two Kattiyanarállá at Gurudeniya on duty during the Alutsál ( <i>vide</i> above) ... ..	4
The two Mulutęnrállá, who prepare the rice, cakes, &c., that are offered ... ..	4
The Mulutęgé Murakárayá, who cleans the chatties and other kitchen utensils, sweeps the kitchen, &c. ...	1

		Half Measures.
The two Ranketta, the drawers of the sweet toddy offered morn-		
ing and evening at the Máligáwa	...	1
The Vidáné of Holumbuwa in Four Kóralés	...	2
The Vidáné of Nelundeniya do.	...	2
The Vidáné of Mutugala in Seven Kóralés...	...	2
The Vidáné of Dambadeniya do.	...	2
The dhoby of Muṇwatugoda in Yaṭinuwara, who washes the		
clothes, &c., of the Máligáwa, spreads the cloth over which		
the Diwa Nilamé walks, ties the cloths over the place where the		
elephants are decorated, where processions stop, &c.	...	2
The Nilakárayó of Holumbuwa	...	2
The Nilakárayó of Nelundeniya	...	2

The above shews the distribution of the new rice. There is in addition a distribution of the rice of the previous year, called the old rice (*Hamba*) as follows:—

(a.)—*As Wages for taking part in the ceremony.*

To the Nilakárayó (*i.e.* the cultivators of the temple fields) of—

		Half Measures.
1. The Daladá Máligáwa, the temple of the Sacred Tooth in		
Kandy	...	20
2. „ Gangaráma Viháré, a temple in Kandy	...	2
3. „ Kuṇḍasálé Viháré, in Dumbara	...	2
4. „ Degaldoruwa Viháré do.	...	2
5. „ Alutwiháré, a temple in the Asgiriya monastery in		
Kandy	...	2
6. „ Paraṇawiháré, do. do.	...	2
7. „ Náta Déwálé in Kandy	...	2
8. „ Kataragam Déwálé in Kandy	...	2
9. „ Maha Déwálé do.	...	2
10. „ Pattini Déwálé do.	...	2

*(b.)—In consideration of office.*

To the Nilakárayó of—

		Rice.	Paddy.
11.	The Daladá Máligáwa (see above) ...	15	15
12.	„ Gangaráma Viháré do. ...	9	9
13.	„ Kuṇḍasálé Viháré do. ...	7	7
14.	„ Degaldoruwa Viháré do. ...	5	5
15.	„ Alutwiháré do. ...	5	5
16.	„ Paraṇa Viháré do. ...	4	4
17.	„ Gedige Viháré, a temple in Kandy ...	1	1
18.	„ Náta Déwálé Piḷimagé (a small room in the Déwálé in which the image of Bud-dha is placed) ...	1	1
19.	Maha Déwálé, a temple in Kandy ...	1	1
20.	Kataragama Déwálé, do. ...	1	1
21.	Pattini Déwálé, do. ...	1	1
22.	Hudubumpola Viháré in Yaṭinuwara in Kandy	2	1
23.	Nittawela Viháré, a temple in Yaṭinuwara ...	1	1
24.	Gónáwatta Viháré in Lower Héwáheṭa ...	1	1
25.	Laṅkátilaka Déwálé in Uḍunuwara ...	1	1
26.	Gaḍaládeniya Déwálé do. ...	1	1
27.	Embèkké Piḷimagé do. ...	1	1
28.	Morapé Piḷimagé in Kotmalé ...	1	1
29.	Uḍuwela Viháré in Lower Héwáheṭa ...	3	2
30.	Ampitiya Viháré do. ...	3	2
31.	Sagama Viháré in Upper Héwáheṭa ...	2	7
32.	Náta Déwálé in Kandy ...	3	3
33.	Maha Déwálé do. ...	4	4
34.	Kataragama Déwálé in Kandy ...	3	3
35.	Do. Pallédéwále in Kandy ...	1	1
36.	Pattini Déwálé do. ...	3	3
37.	Gaṇadewi Kówila do. ...	2	2
38.	Alutnuwara Déwálé in Yaṭinuwara ...	2	1
39.	Hanguranketa Maha Déwálé in Uḍa Héwáheṭa ...	2	2
40.	Hanguranketa Pattini Déwálé do. ...	2	2
41.	Pasagama Náta Déwálé do. ...	2	2

			Rice.	Paddy.
42.	Embekké Déwálé in Uḍunuwara	...	2	1
43.	Do. Pallédéwálé do.	...	1	1
44.	Doḍanwala Déwálé do.	...	2	1
45.	Do. Pattini Déwálé do.	...	1	1
46.	Laṅkátīlaka Déwálé in Uḍunuwara	...	2	2
47.	Gaḍalāḍeniya Déwálé do.	...	2	1
48.	Do. Pallé Déwálé do.	...	1	1
49.	Wégiriya Déwálé do.	...	2	1
50.	Alawatugoḍa Déwálé in Four Kóralés	...	2	1
51.	Ganégoḍa Déwálé in Uḍapalāta	...	2	1
52.	Do. Pallé Déwálé do.	...	1	1
53.	Wallahagoḍa Déwálé do.	...	2	1
54.	Morapé Déwálé in Kotmalé	...	2	1
55.	Gurudeniya Déwálé in Lower Héwáhēṭa	...	2	2

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“VALENTYN'S\* ACCOUNT OF ADAM'S PEAK.”

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BY A. SPENCE MOSS, P.W.D.

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(Read 7th May, 1881.)

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AFTER treating at some length the history of the Island, he proceeds to give a sort of review of the mode of Government under “Vimala Dharma Súriya Ada” (whom he calls Don Juan) and a description of the Court, from which I extract as follows :—

This Emperor, from fear of his own subjects, confines himself now (1604) to the mountain city of Diyatilaka, where he is surrounded by a large force of soldiers under the nobles, and by his higher officers of state; but he relies chiefly for his personal safety upon a special *body guard of Moors*, who keep watch continually at his chamber-door. Besides these he has many other guards, whom he selects from the best families, and who are the bravest and smartest young fellows in the country. They have long straight hair, go always bareheaded, and are generally about him wherever he goes.

His revenues are very great. Thrice a year must his subjects pay him tribute. The first he draws in March, at the time of their New Year; the second is taken from the first-fruits; and the third from a sort of offering which they make in November to the honour of their god.

In addition to these taxes every one is bound to provide for the Emperor whatever he may further require for use in his palace; and the nobles take advantage of this prerogative to practise extortion in his name wherever they think it is worth while.

All tribute and presents are covered with white cloth as a mark of respect, and are brought first to the Emperor after he has washed his

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\* Valentyn (F.) *Ond en Nieuw Oost Indien*, 1724-26.

head and bathed at the New Year ; when he shews himself publicly to the whole army assembled together for this purpose, and to the nobles also, under a salute from the whole of his artillery. After this the nobles and people come, in order, and offer him their presents of gold, silver, precious stones, arms, silk, stuffs, and cloth, besides the tribute proper, of which they then have to pay the first instalment in gold, palm wine (? arrack), oil, rice, honey, wax, iron, elephants' teeth, tobacco, or in other kind ; and they then have often to remain a very long time about the Court before their gifts are accepted by the Emperor or his servants, in consequence of which great crowds are collected and commotions arise.

Besides these revenues, which are fixed, he has many others which are uncertain or adventitious ; as when, for instance, a man dies leaving cattle behind him, he (the Emperor) takes therefrom according to the law of the land and his own prerogative, one ox, one cow, and a pair of buffaloes, which are punctually claimed by certain officers appointed for the purpose.

At the time of the harvest in each year every one must pay to the Emperor a certain measure of corn, or rice, according to the extent of his land, which is sometimes commuted for all time by payment of a sum of money, though this latter custom is now no longer followed.

The estates of soldiers however who die in battle are free from this tax, but not otherwise.

All farmers also of the land, in addition to the prescribed grain tythe, must pay a certain sum of money ; but, on the other hand, those lands are not liable which have been given to a priest or to a charity.

In olden times he had also the tolls at Kottiyar or Trincomalee, Port des Galles, and Portaloan, &c., &c., &c.

After describing the religion of the Sinhalese he alludes to—

Trincomalee, which means either the hill of the three Pagodas, or of the world-famed Pagoda called the Pagoda of "three stories." . . . One of these (three temples) was appropriated to the use of the pilgrims who came thither by thousands to practise their idolatry, and of whom some in the fervour of devotion precipitated themselves



from the rock into the sea and were drowned, firmly believing that this was the straightest and shortest way to come at heaven, and that the waters wherein they found their end had little less sanctity than those of the Ganges.

There is a tradition, which the writer will endeavour to obtain in its correct form, still extant in Trincomalee, that an European soldier entered and defiled by his presence the old temple on the rock, and that this soldier may now be seen by the faithful, down under the sea in the ruins of the old temple, when the priest after sacrificing holds his torch over the edge of the precipice when it is dusk or nearly dark.

Of Adam's Peak, Valentyn goes on to give the following remarkable description, figuring Arangala or Nálanda Peak by way of illustration. From enquiries of the old priest at Aluwiháre, the writer has not been able to find any tradition of sanctity attaching to Arangala, so that Valentyn's mistake is the more remarkable:—

This mountain was esteemed most sacred not only by the Sighalese, but also by all the Gentiles and heathen of India, and even by many Mahometans as their chief sanctuary. On the top of this mountain stands a beautiful Pagoda, concerning which the Sighalese have many traditions, and where they say Buddha [whom he calls throughout "Budhum"], a disciple of the Apostle Thomas, dwelt. They say that he stood with one foot on this, and the other foot on a mountain near Tuticorin, and that he made so much water that thereby the Island of Ceylon was divided from the coast.

From the same tradition they proceed to say of him that he was 26 cubits in stature . . . . .

Of the same kind and size footprints of Buddha are found here and there upon the rocks in Ceylon, and also whole figures hewn out, from which many of them hold that Adam lived there; but most of them hold firmly to this, that Buddha went up to heaven from this hill (Adam's Peak), taking this account *from the ascension of Christ*, whereof they have obtained the tradition either *through the St. Thomas' Christians* or through the Portuguese.

Up the Peak or Mount of Adam one has to climb by an iron chain, serving for the pilgrims and travellers who wish to make the ascent. This chain is made with shackles, by the help of which one can climb as if by the rungs of a ladder.

On the top of the mountain is a plain, 150 paces long and 110 broad, in the middle of which lies a stone nine palms high from the ground and twenty-two long, whereon they say the footprint is; although others testify, on the contrary, that they found there nothing but a dirty depression be-oiled by the lamps which the pilgrims leave there, who as they go down always take a little of the earth, which they consider sacred. Although many Sinhalese ascribe it [the footprint] to Buddha, Herr Baldaens states that not only they, but also the people of Siam, are in the habit of talking about Adam, and to this day shew his footprint impressed upon a stone on the summit of a mountain (of which we have spoken before), being  $1\frac{1}{2}$  ell long,  $\frac{3}{4}$  ell broad, and the sole of the foot going  $\frac{1}{4}$  ell down in the stone. It is set round the edge with silver, and there is an elegant temple built near, around which many Siamese priests and other people of the country dwell. These priests shewed a party of our people in March, 1654 . . . a gold plate representing the length and breadth of the foot, on which were various figures which they said were to be seen formerly in the footprint itself, but that after the priests allowed them to be engraved on the gold they disappeared from the stone. These figures were 68 in number, and may be seen figured by Baldaens in his description of Coromandel, Vol. 154, with several other matters relating thereto.

Compare the Śrī Pāda stones engraved in Fergusson's "History of Eastern Architecture." Valentyn then describes in great detail two galleries of rock-cut chambers containing figures of Buddha ("Adam"), and minutely specifies the dimensions of eyes, nose, mouth, head, hands, arms, fingers, nails, &c. In the lower gallery were two chambers hewn out of the cliff, and each containing one colossal figure in the usual Nirwāṇa attitude, with various smaller erect and sitting figures. In the upper gallery were four chambers, the largest called

Raja Maha wihāre. Then he describes a detached rock-chamber on the other side of the mountain :—

. . . wherein lies a figure 9 ft. 10 in. in length, called after a certain Singhalese woman, ('Diegoḍa Mahage') who caused it to be made.

Then again :—

On the top of this mountain [which he now calls "Mokeregalla" otherwise called "Adam's Peak"] stands a white tower, which is 44 feet 3 in. in circumference, and 16 feet high. This mountain is fiat on the top, and planted with several trees, and was at times sown with kurakkan. The sea can also be seen from its summit, although it is several miles distant.

It is worthy of remark, with regard to the large and small figures of the Singhalese, that they shew the same attitudes reclining, standing, or sitting, and also the same expression, with their hands uplifted or olded and upraised fingers, as the idols of the Siamese.

The following letter from Mr. Helmont to H. E. Governor Symons gives us further light on this subject :—

Noble, Honourable, &c., &c., Sir,—In conformity with Your Excellency's command, I reply thereto with all respect that Adam's Peak, as far as I remember, lies two days' journey from Mátara, and close by the Company's estate of Markatta. At the foot there is a large hewn chamber divided by a wall into two portions ; in the one lies a huge naked figure with a yellowish body, brown eyebrows, red lips, and long ears, with the hand under the head, and the legs one above the other, called Adam by the Singhalese ; in the other a corresponding figure, of similar shape, a woman, called Eva ; and I remember well that the nose of the former was measured out of curiosity in my presence, in the year 1690, by the Rev. Predicant Feico Wylsma, and found to be over a foot in length. From this cave you proceed by a flight of freestone steps, built dry without lime, up above where, on account of its steepness, you cannot go round the mountain. There is little space to walk and only to follow your guide. There are two smaller chambers: in the one Adam, with the Patriarchs, dressed as 'Baljadoors' of a heathen Pagoda, painted on the wall, and in the

next one Eva, with her legs crossed under her body, on a stone shelf like an altar, and an erect snake going up behind her back and over her head as if picking her brains, in the midst of her sons, of whom the eldest is discerned by his size, being the same as his mother life-size hewn out of stone. Outside there is a square shelf of which the border is inscribed with characters which no one can read, but which were explained. Near one of these small chambers one climbs up by means of a great iron chain soldered into the mountain [probably *on standards*, for which the sockets were seen by the writer on his recent ascent] and hewn steps, to near the top, which is reached by an ugly crevice in the following manner. Five, or six, or more blacks go up on their bellies climbing over each, other the lower one holding the upper by the legs. The topmost reaches out his hand, grasps the handle at the end of the chain, and so pulls up to the top, where there is nothing but a sham Pagoda and Devil's tree, the leaves of which are like the points of pikes. This tree shoots through a cleft in the rock an ever-flourishing root, whose sap is caught drop by drop in a chatty set near, and is considered of great value for many purposes, and held in great esteem as a cure for impotence.

He then describes the truly miraculous effect of a few drops upon women, but adds that he has not had an opportunity of observing its effect upon their virtue. It would be extremely interesting to know, whether these caves really exist, either on Adam's Peak itself or in some of the hills of the Peak range. Perhaps, if some of the gentlemen connected with the Revenue Service, of whom several are members of this Society, were to enquire from priests and headmen, some tradition would be discovered which would lead to their identification. The writer has been informed by the old priest of Aluwihâre that there are rock-cut shrines at the base or half-way up Adam's Peak, that the approaches are now overgrown with jungle, and that no one dare make the ascent; that they lie on the west side. Possibly the priest has framed his answer in accordance with what he saw was the anxiously-expected answer, regardless of strict truth.

It would appear that the caves, or rock-hewn chambers, now used as shrines in Ceylon are not of any great antiquity as *shrines* from the following considerations :—

- (1) The principal figure is in all cases the Buddha in Nirwāṇa.
- (2) The figure is of colossal size.
- (3) It is not of hewn stone, but of composition, and is painted and plastered.
- (4) The erect or sitting figures where found are mere accessories.

(5) That the caves are immensely older than the figures in them is evident from the figures not being hewn *in situ*, but built up of chunam and brick, &c.

(6) That the caves are of recent use as Buddhist shrines may be inferred from the character of the façades by which they are closed in. These are plain to meanness, devoid of all attempt at decoration, being generally sun-dried brick laid in mud, rubble stone dry or in lime, or even plain mud walls.

But the writer is of opinion that these *caves* are of great antiquity, and have been used in past ages as refuges from floods and wild animals in the low-country, and from wild animals and hostile tribes in the hill-country. By mere difficulty of access as at Adam's Peak, Dambulla, Aluwihāre and Dunumaḍalakanda, &c., they are eminently fitted as places of refuge; and from the commanding view which they in all cases give of the country round by which the smoke of the fire of any pursuing party by day, and the flame by night, could be readily detected, they would serve as natural forts in a primitive age.

At the caves of Aluwihāre, near Matálé, may be seen a stone exactly similar to one discovered among some cave-dwellings in the Rhone valley, and figured by Mons. Louis Figuier in his "L'Homme Primitif" as a polishing stone used for polishing flint weapons.

When by gradual civilization the forest aborigines learned to make huts without the help of Nature, and to fortify their

hamlets in a rude way, these refuge places would naturally be adopted with the first uprising of any primitive form of natural religion as places pre-eminently fitted for the performance of worship. It has struck the writer when, in travelling in the Northern forests for miles under overarching trees, he has come upon some bald black rock, and, ascending its summit, has found a scooped-out water tank, a ruined dagoba, and a lovely view of nature, that the tank which has outlived the flimsy dry brick dagoba was in existence centuries before the religion was revealed to which the dagoba was dedicated,—that the hill is the holy place of some primitive worship, probably of fire, and has been adopted by a later faith in a manner common throughout the world.



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# JOURNAL

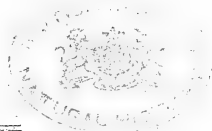
OF THE

## CEYLON BRANCH

OF THE

## ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

1881.



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VOL. VII.—PART II.

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No. 24.

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*EDITED BY THE HONORARY SECRETARY.*

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“The design of the Society is to institute and promote enquiries into the History, Religion, Literature, Arts, and Social Condition of the present and former Inhabitants of the Island, with its Geology, Mineralogy, its Climate and Meteorology, its Botany and Zoology.”


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1882.

 THE great delay in the issue of the present Number of the Journal (for which an apology is due to Members) has been unavoidable, and mainly caused by continued heavy pressure of urgent work in the Government Printing Office.

In addition to the Journal each Member receives the first part (Vol. I. Part I. pp. 1-41) of a new edition of *Pāṇini's Sūtras*, published by Mr. W. Guṇatilaka of Kandy with the assistance of the Society.

H. C. P. BELL,  
September, 1881. *Hon. Sec.*

**JOURNAL**  
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# ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

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## CEYLON BRANCH.

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THE ANCIENT EMPORIUM OF KALAH IN THE  
EMPIRE OF ZABEDJ,  
AS A CEYLON PORT, AND THE EARLY COLONIZATION OF THE  
ISLAND, SUBSEQUENT TO THE WAR OF RÁMA AND  
RÁWAṆA ; WITH  
SOME NOTES ON FA HIAN'S ACCOUNT OF CEYLON.  
BY H. NEVILL, Esq., C.C.S.

---

IN the very complete compilation of ancient accounts of Ceylon, which Sir E. Tennent gives in the first Volume of his work on the Island, he proceeds (after giving most interesting notices of the emporium in Taprobane, or Serendib, through which the luxuries of Eastern Asia were gathered for the markets of the West) to adduce reasons, which appeared to him plausible, as to the identification of the ancient Kalah with the modern Galle.

He first clearly shows the errors into which Bertolacci and other authors had fallen, and then suggests the fresh site, in which, as I now hope to prove, he was deceived by a mere similarity of sound.

In the first place, we at once fail to trace on our S.W. coast the numerous Islands lining the shore, which form so striking a portion of the description of the earlier writers.

Again, the cramped and rocky creek known as Galle Harbour can scarcely be identified with the capacious ‘*Umen*’ or lagoon, and tranquil inland water, which is often spoken of in connection with the emporium of Kalah.

Further, we have every reason to regard the Galle neighbourhood as of comparatively recent civilization, and possessing few ancient historical traditions, and no ancient historical remains. Neither in the extreme corner of the kingdom ever guarded for its legitimate Sovereigns by the loyal, brave, and independent mountaineers of Ruhuna, can we trace the half Tamiḷ district of Kalah, which owned the sway of the Mahārājās of Zabedj, the Sultans of the Isles, who, as Cosmas in A. D. 550, (supported by Abou Zeyd in A. D. 900,) tells us were ‘ἐναντιοὶ ἀλλήλων’ ‘opposed to, or independent of, each other,’ when spoken of in conjunction with the King who had the Hyacinth.

It may be well to remark here that the recurring expression ‘the King who has the Hyacinth,’\* scarcely refers to the great gem that was mounted on the pinnacle of a lofty *dāgoba*, and is celebrated by the travellers to the royal city; or yet to the blue statue of Buddha described by Fa Hian, but rather means ‘the King who had the country where the Hyacinth was found,’ *i. e.* Sabaragamuwa and the adjacent Highlands, anciently included in Ruhuna.

Further, as we are told by Abou Zeyd, between the kingdom with the emporium and the Hyacinth country lies the pepper country—a remark positively not applying to Galle, but at once understood, if we admit, as I hope hereafter to show is the case, that *Kalah is the N.W. coast between the Arippe river (the ancient Kadamba) and the Deduru-oya*; when the expression may be amplified into, between Puttalam District and the Adam’s Peak District lies the plain of the Kelani river and

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\* “ὁ εἰς ἔχων τὸν ὑάκινθον” (Cosmas Indicopleustes)—Tennent, Ceylon, Vol. I. p, 591.

the Mahá-oya, which through all tradition has been and still is, the 'pepper country'; or, in still conciser terms, between Kalah and Ruhuna is the Máyá-raṭa.

Many other arguments might here be adduced, and some will be alluded to further on, but I think it is even already sufficiently shown that Galle was not the ancient centre of Kalah, the Tarshish of Solomon's fleets, and the rendezvous of Arabs, Persians, Indians, Syrians and Chinese.

We will now proceed to consider a number of facts, which, when aggregated, render it probable, or even certain, that the district alluded to on the N.W. coast was the great emporium of the Eastern trade—the Kalah kingdom. In A.D. 50, when Claudius was Emperor at Rome, a ship sent to collect the revenues of Arabia was caught by the winds and borne to Hippuros, the bold point still known as *Kutiraimalai* or 'Horse Hill,' and which has from the dimmest dawn of tradition been, what it still is, the landmark of sailors, and a sacred spot at which they to this day make suitable offerings to appease winds and waters.

Here the mariners were hospitably received, and after a short stay returned to Rome with an embassy from the King of that district, which, as Pliny tells us, consisted of four persons, the highest bearing the name of *Rachia*.

Casie Chetty (Jour. A.S., Ceylon, 1848, p. 78.) has proved that *Rachia* is a corruption of *A'rachchiya*, and not as Sir E. Tennent fancied, a form of *Rájá*, since that title was never used for persons of the rank selected for such missions.

Now in this very remarkable embassy to Rome from a point of N.W. Ceylon, we have the most extraordinary confirmation of my views regarding the site of the ancient trade.

For though Pliny gives us a full account and minute description of the Ambassadors, and the details they gave of their country, yet he never even gives a hint that Hippuros was an out of the way and unknown port, but on the contrary we

are naturally left to believe that once there, the mariners recognised the country, knew their way home, and ran no further risk.

Also had there not been regular intercourse between that port and the Red Sea, how would the Romans have found their way home? and is it likely an embassy would have been sent had it not been recognised that there was no difficulty in the relations of the two countries? On the contrary, once arrived, having recruited their strength, the sailors start off home as if on a beaten track, and without comment on their safe return, bring an embassy and presents. Further, from Pliny's silence, there can be no doubt the embassy went *home*, and was not condemned to a perpetual exile at Rome; and in consequence doubtless of its safe return with presents, we find another arriving in Rome, when Julian was Emperor.

Fifty years later still, in A. D. 110, Ptolemy gives his wonderful map taken down from the narratives of sailors, which clearly shows how well our N.W. coast was known even in its minutest details, and the course of its rivers inland.

In A.D. 410 Palladius writes, on the faith of a Theban merchant, that in the neighbourhood are a thousand islands, one group called Maniolæ, and five large rivers.

Now, in the boundaries assumed for Kalah we have a chain of islands recently joined and forming the Akkara-pattu of Kalpitiya, the long island of Kárativu (no doubt then a group of detached islets), and various others scattered from Puttalam to Kutiraimalai, while on the North are Mannár, Rámessaram, and the adjacent group, parts of which are now connected by sandbanks, and form Adam's bridge; doubtless the Maniolæ. Beyond these again are the islands of Jaffna, Delft and many others.

By this hypothesis the untenable supposition of Sir E. Tennent and M. Landresse, that the far distant Máldives were referred to, is at once avoided.

The five rivers accurately answer to the Arippu or Kadamba river, the Kalá-oya, the Morachchikatti river near Kutiraimalai, the Mí-oya and the Deḍuru-oya.

In A. D. 550 Cosmas, writing the travels of Sopater, tells how on that trader's arrival at the emporium he learned that the Hyacinth was found beyond the pepper country. This, the ancient Máyá-rata, the Maháwaṇsa tells us was bounded on the North and South respectively by the Deḍuru-oya and the Kelāṇi-gaṅga, accurately enclosing and dividing the 'pepper' from the 'gem' districts and the district in which was the emporium.

Again, he says around it are a multitude of small islands containing fresh water and thickly covered with palms producing the Indian and the aromatic nuts.

In the islands now forming the Akkara-pattu as far as Kalpiṭiya are abundant proofs of ancient groves of cocoanut and palmyra palms, and the latter from which palm-sugar, and a sweet paste called *pūnatu*, is prepared, was perhaps the aromatic nut, and not the areka, which is a hill-growing species and not likely to have been valued by the Western traders. It is also of course possible the aromatic nut was not grown but imported for export, and Cosmas' informers mistaken in their statement.

With regard to the special notice of the abundance of fresh water even at this day, all visitors are surprised to find that excellent water may be got in all the islands, and the Akkara-pattu, at a foot or so in depth, while on the mainland water is extremely scarce, only obtained by deep wells and ancient tanks.

Sopater was presented to the King of the district in which was the emporium, who was independent of, or opposed to, the King that had the Hyacinth.

In A. D. 850 Soleyman, a trader who had made many voyages, described Adam's Peak and the district around as that which produced the gems, thus identifying the Hyacinth country of Cosmas with that part of Ruhuna.

The Island was then (A. D. 850) still subject to its two Kings, he tells us. When in his continuation of this work Abou Zeyd describes Ibn Wahab's voyages (Tennent's Ceylon, Vol. 1, p. 587) the still water lagoons in which he so delighted, and where he spent months in coasting about, could only have been one of the lagoons either of Jaffna, Kalpitiya, or Batticaloa, "and it is evident from the narratives of Soleyman and Ibn Wahab, that ships availing themselves of the monsoons to cross the Indian Ocean, crept along the shore to Cape Comorin, and passed close by Adam's Bridge to reach their destined ports."

At page 591 of the same work it is said :—"The assertion of Abou Zeyd as to the sovereignty of the Maharaja of Zabedj at Kalah, is consistent with the statement of Soleyman, that 'the Island was in subjection to two monarchs.'"

In this we find still another strong support for our argument, since the whole N.W. coast and Jaffna has from the most ancient times been peopled by Tamils and Moors, thus accounting for the district being under the Mahárájás of Zabedj, who from B.C. 100 to A. D. 700 extended their empire and ruled the Malay Islands, Kalah, and Travancore; and it satisfactorily accounts for the silence preserved by the priestly annalists of the Kings who possessed the Hyacinth, as to the commercial wealth of their rivals who governed the territory in which was the great emporium.

Sir E. Tennent also quotes the "*Garsharsp-Namah*" of about the 10th century, in which the Mahárájá having requested Persian aid against the "Shah of Serendib," one Baku, a fleet is sent, which lands at Kalah and obtains a signal victory over Baku; and this seems authentic, as the empire of Zabedj was then breaking up, and the Kalah Viceroy likely to seek aid from Persia, whose merchants profited so largely by its trade, and indirectly proving the old enmity between Ruhuna and Kalah, a feud at once understood as between the Tamil port and the Sinhalese capital, but not applicable to Galle.



This Baku may have been only a General, or he may have been the Parákrama Páṇḍi or Báhu, who in 1059 was Viceroy of Ruhuna according to the Maháwaṇsa, which also refers to the Solian conquest and frequent irruption of foreigners during the end of the 10th century.

Baku in either case is no doubt a corrupt spelling of Báhu.

Still later in 1347 Ibn Batuta visited the district where the traders went for cinnamon, and landing at a place called 'Bat-tāla' (either Puttalam or some port nearer the Battala-oya) whence he crossed a river (the Deḍuru-oya) and reached the port of 'Salāwat,' still called in Siṅhalese by that name, a little on the Battala side of which the infidel King's territory ceased, thence turning inland he reached 'Kankār' (? Gaṅgá śripura), either Gampola or one of the Sabaragamuwa towns on the Keḷaṇi-gaṅga, and ascending Adam's Peak he descended to 'Dīnaur' (*Dev-nunara*, *Devundara*), or *Anglice* Dondra, whence he returned by 'Kālī' and 'Kolambū,' then a flourishing port, to 'Battāla.'\*

This route would have been from Dondra, by the ancient port of Weḷigam and the village of Hiniḍum, through the Walallāwiti-kóralé to Kalutara, and not Galle; and 'Kālī,' doubtless is a corruption of the word Kalu-gaṅga-tara=Kalu-tara, *i. e.* the ferry over the black (*kalu*) river.

I would here invite special attention to the expression "the infidel King" used by Ibn Batuta, when contrasting the King of the district in which was the port with the Buddhist King who ruled the rest of Ceylon. Its use by the Arabian in this context shows the King of Kalah was not a Buddhist, but of a religion hostile to that of the priestly annalists, who drew up the chronicles of the Kings of Anurádhapura and Polonnaruwa, and accounts for their silence upon the flourishing port and busy commerce settled in the maritime state of

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\* Lee's "Travels of Ibn Batuta," 1829, pp. 183—191.

Kalah, the *point d'appui* as it were of the hated Tamils, so hostile to their religion.

Having pointed out how well the site I have given corresponds with ancient descriptions, I will adduce analogies to its ancient name of Kalah, far surpassing that of 'Kālī' (Kalutara) and Galle; for though a more fallacious ground could not be selected as the base of an argument, yet it may be a corroborative proof of value when taken in connection with other and more direct proofs.

In the district between the Arippu-river and Dēduru-oya the principal river is the Kalá-oya, or 'Kalah-river'—the port of Kalpiṭiya is still called by the natives Kalputti, *i. e.* 'the Kala sandbanks'—the opposite point on the mainland is Kárativu, *r* & *l* being mutable, and the name signifying 'Kalah Island.'

In the commencement of this paper I have alluded to the absence of ancient historical remains, and traditions in the neighbourhood of Galle; let us see how far the proposed site is supported by such corroboration.

When Wijaya landed and founded the historical dynasty of Ceylon, he arrived near the mouth of the Mí-oya at the present Puttalam, B. C. 543.

He thence proceeded a short distance inland, where, after marrying the daughter of one of the Native Chiefs, he gradually extended his power, till from his capital of Tammanna Nuwara he acquired possession of the greater part of the Island, and ultimately became so strengthened by bands of adventurers from the coast, that he repudiated his wife and native allies, reducing many to the rank of slaves.

Although the annalists of the Maháwansa confine the narrative to the conquerors, and have only sneers for the aborigines, the so-called Yakkhos and Nágas, yet it is clear the assertion of their previous utter barbarity is quite unfounded, and we have abundant proofs that they had attained considerable civilization, although inferior to that of their Aryan invaders. Thus

we are told that one of their towns was called Lañkápura, and was the capital of the kingdom ; hence they had a King and Chiefs under him, they had gathered into towns and were not mere savages or (as one popular idea supposes) the same as the present Rock Veddās ;\* also they understood jewellers' craft, since a " throne of gems " was an object of strife.

Where Wijaya first landed, the Princess whom he married was met near the tank, though this tank was doubtless used merely as a reservoir of water and not for irrigation ; while—most important—here the Princess or Chieftain's daughter distributed rice to his followers, which was obtained from the shipwrecked boats of mariners. Now, had there not been considerable commerce on the shore of the lagoon, it is clear rice would not have so occurred, not from one special wreck, but from the wrecked boats, as if such were of frequent occurrence. This, too, is supported by the tradition extant (*Pien-ietien*, Book LXVI.) when the Chinese travellers Hiouen-Thsang and Fa-Hian heard that Wijaya had come as a merchant to the district, and there, by his tact gradually acquired royal power. I think we must deduce that the emporium of Ceylon existed as a trading station long prior to his advent.

It may be well at some length to notice the tradition as recorded by these ancient Chinese authors. Hiouen-Thsang, who—unlike the simple matter-of-fact Fa-Hian—has always a ready ear for, and pen to record, the romantic, says the tradition was that a South Indian Princess on her way to be married, with her retinue, was waylaid by a King of the lions, and carried off captive to his mountain home, where she bore him a son and daughter. When the son attained puberty, he consulted with his mother and arranged to escape with her and his sister to her people. With this object he carefully explored the mountain paths, and at last succeeded in his plan and escaped with

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\* S. වැද්දෝ, veddō.

his mother and sister. The mother, however, having warned him his parentage would disgrace him in the eyes of her countrymen, they concealed the real nature of his father. Meanwhile the King-lion ravaging the neighbouring lands in search of his family, the King of the land to which the lion-son had gone was in extreme peril from him, on which the lion-son treacherously killed his own father with a dagger—the father dying with forgiving love to his son.

On the *eclaircissement* that ensued, the King deciding he must not break his pledge of reward, and also refusing to allow the parricide to remain in his territory, equipped two vessels, and in one sent off the lion-son with a retinue of men to seek his fortune, and in the other sent off a retinue of women. The history is here silent, but as the ships were sent off in this manner, each on its own course, it is only natural to suppose the lion-son's sister and mother were banished in that with a female retinue, which is said to have gone towards Persia. That which contained the lion-son and his male retinue reached "the isle of jewels," and as many valuable articles of merchandize were procurable there, they settled, and after killing some of the chief merchants already settled there, married their widows and established a kingdom, calling it "the Lion-kingdom."

We have only here to understand by lion, not the quadruped but a Gangetic hill chieftain, with the title of *Sinha* (not uncommon), and the tradition is a highly probable partial account of the origin of the Tamil coast race (which I assume to be the Yakkhos of ancient accounts) as settled in N.W. and E. Ceylon, in the country of the Nágas or aboriginal snake worshippers.

This is again supported by a passage in Upham's *Rájáwali* (p. 168) not hitherto connected with the above tradition. In this second legend the *Rájáwali* says that the Yakkhos came to Ceylon when the country was lying devastated and depopulated by the wars between Ráma and Ráwana.

In combination we have from these traditions a very consistent story, that when the aboriginal (Nága) race of Ceylon was weakened by the Indo-Aryan invasion perpetuated in the Rámáyana, a subsequent Tamil colony came from the South of India, established itself as Yakkhos, and was organised by an out-cast Prince of mixed Gangetic and South Indian blood, who landed at a port frequented by merchants already settled there, attracted by productions affording a lucrative trade.

This we may call the pre-Wijayan era, and accounts for the Gangetic and Bráhmaṇ Wijaya arriving at its port when the Island was inhabited by two races—Nágas (snake worshippers)\* and Yakkhos (probably a form of Saivites).

Hiouen-Thsang goes on to relate that 500 demon women, who lived in one of the towns, seduced a party of merchants who had arrived to trade, and each bore a son to her paramour. Their Queen, who seduced the chief merchant, bore a son who, after his father, whose name was Seng-kia (Sipha) was called Seng-kia-lo.

The legend goes on to tell how Seng-kia-lo secretly deserted his wife after her lavish kindness : how she followed him to a neighbouring kingdom and implored him to return to her, and upbraided him with his ingratitude : how he replied she was of demon origin, justifying his repudiation : and how on her appealing to the King, he, struck with her beauty and moved with pity, took her to wife and protected her : how during the night all the inmates of the palace were murdered and mutilated, and on the next morning the refugee announced to the people that his wife was a devil, and in the night had flown to Ceylon, and fetched a party of other devils, who had killed and eaten the inmates of the palace and the King who had just married her. On this he was elected King, and proceeded at once to form an army and return to Ceylon, where he entirely conquered the Island, exterminating many of its

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\* Note (1).

inhabitants, and driving away the others to a neighbouring Island, and then, having destroyed their town, established a kingdom in his name "*Seng-kia-lo*" (Sinhala) to which people rapidly collected from other countries. Let us treat this as a true tradition, merely garnished by the persons who gave it to Hiouen-Thsang with the false representation that the unhappy wife was really a devil, as it suited her betrayer to represent when he effected the murder of the King, who had taken her part against him, together with the inmates of the palace. It is scarcely surprising the Buddhist annalists omitted to record in their chronicles this horrible crime and the successful conspiracy that brought Seng-kia-lo back from India again, to the land of his birth, as a conqueror of the whole land; nor, priding themselves on their pure Gangetic race, would the Kings descended from Wijaya care to see it recorded that Wijaya was the son of a Gangetic Chief and a Yakkho Princess. On the other hand, there was absolutely no inducement for Hiouen-Thsang to invent the story, had it not been the *current oral tradition*.

I should also here refer to the extract from the *Pradīpikāwa*, given by Alwis at page xxv of the Introduction to his *Sīdat Sangarāwa*, in which Gurulugómi\* quotes from the lost *Aṭṭvās* (original Sinhalese commentaries on the Pāli Scripture) compiled B.C. 92.

He says: " ' Since King Sinhabāhu took the Sinha (lion) captive, he was (called) Sinhala, and his descendants were (thence also called) Sinhala, ' so the name *Sinhala* is derived from the circumstance of the lion being taken captive by Sinhabāhu,

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\* Gurulugómi, the learned Thero of Aluviháre (Mátalé District), says the legend, wrote *Amāwatura* at his sister's request for the instruction of his nephew. Said the mother:—" Brother, the diction is not good; my son's style needs improving." Then he wrote *Pradīpikāwa*; and yet the student of Sinhalese prose "undefiled" (Eḷu) may perhaps best study Gurulugómi's earlier work.—*H. C. P. B., Hon. Sec.*

who was begotten by a lion and was conceived in the womb of a Royal Princess, the daughter of Kálinga Chakrawarti.” I give Alwis’s translation, but he should have translated it, ‘daughter of the King of Kálinga, King of Kings ;’ as *Chakrawartti* (චක්‍රවර්තී) is a King to whom other Kings are vassals.

Gurulugómi goes on to quote *Sanyút Sangiya*: “So likewise both King Wijaya, the son of the Sinhala [this we must bear in mind is grandson of Sinha] who having subdued the Yaksha, took Lakdiva [Lañká], also his younger brother King Sumit, who reigned in Sinhapura, also his son Paṇḍuwas Déva, who having left Sinhapura became King of Lakdiva, and his sons and grandsons, were Sinhala.” This passage I have translated afresh as Alwis’s version fails to convey the original correctly.

It indicates that Wijaya,\* grandson of Sinha, leaving his

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\* It may be well here to append an amended table of the successors of Wijaya, which I suggest as probably correct:—

Dévānappiyatissa, B. C. 241, is a well-established date, and may be taken as the starting point.

					B. C.
<i>Dévānappiyatissa</i>	...	...	...	...	241
<i>Muṭasiva</i>	...	...	...	...	271
<i>Paṇḍukābhaya</i>	...	...	...	...	306
<i>A'bhaya</i> and <i>Gunatissa</i>	...	...	...	...	343
<i>Paṇḍuwasa</i>	...	...	...	...	373
<i>Upatissa</i>	...	...	...	...	374
<i>Wijaya</i>	...	...	...	...	412

I quite agree with Turnour in regarding the reigns of Muṭasíva and Paṇḍukābhaya (60 and 70) as preposterously long, and it will be seen by halving these we get a reduction of 65 years, which sum has proved to be an introduction fraudulently inserted to carry back the Wijayan era.

I have followed the *Mahāwaṃsa* in allowing 37 years between Paṇḍuwasa and Paṇḍukābhaya, though this interval is open to doubt, and I shall perhaps elsewhere be able to elucidate it. With reference to the reign of Wijaya, I follow the *Mahāwaṃsa* in giving it as 38 years. May we not suppose the *Sulu Rāja Ratnākara* gives it as 30 years, because the former dates his reign from his accession on his father Siṃhabāhu’s death, and the latter from his return from India at the head of an army to conquer the Island? The new light thrown upon the subject by the Chinese accounts renders this explanation highly probable.

younger brother Sumit to rule the paternal kingdom Singhapura, established the kingdom of Lakdiva (Lañká), but was succeeded by his nephew (Paṇḍuwas Déva), son of Sumit who left Singhapura to ascend the throne of Lakdiva.

I think I can scarcely leave this part of my subject without alluding to another legend of the *Rájáwali* that is also unnecessarily regarded as an idle falsehood. This is the story that during the life of Gautama Buddha he caused a fire to break out in Ceylon which drove away the Yakkhos who had subsequently to the Ráma era taken possession of the part of Ceylon, where Buddha foresaw his religion would be greatly cherished. This fire, we are told, drove the Yakkhos to the sea and to the Island of *Yakgiridivayina*, and by depopulating the land of these Yakkhos prepared the way for its settlement by the race destined to introduce the Buddhist cult.\*

Let us merely suppose that Mahinda and his disciples learned when building their temples at Anurádhapura, that a former city had existed on that spot, the inhabitants of which were driven from the country by an excessive period of heat and drought, during the life-time of Buddha himself. Can we wonder that such enthusiastic missionaries should seize the tradition, and by saying the drought and heat was a fire sent by Buddha, and not accidentally happening during his life, thus obtain a hold upon the faith of the newly-converted people and a special halo of sanctity upon their own mission? Nor in this connection must we forget the Abhayagiri monastery was itself founded on the site of an ancient temple of the former religion; and that in days before the large irrigation works were constructed there is nothing whatever forced or improbable in the tradition of such a drought.

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\* Upham, "Sacred and Historical Books of Ceylon," Vol. II., pp. 169-70.



I think then these legends, thus connected, are all consistent, and show that after the wars of Ráma a second race, the Yakkhos, intruded in Ceylon from South India, drove out the enfeebled Nágas from the Anurádhapura district, as they spread in from the N.W. coast and the trading ports, and were again driven back to the Coast and Islands by excessive heat and incessant drought, but subsequently, and about the Wijayan era, an Aryan race spread back again to the interior, where Wijaya's descendants formed again the city to which their Gangetic kinsmen came to preach the law of Buddha.

Fa-Hian naively tells us :—"This kingdom was originally uninhabited by man ; only demons, genii [Yakkhos] and dragons [Nágas] dwelt there. *Nevertheless*, merchants of other countries trafficked with them. When the season for the traffic came, the genii and demons appeared not, but set forward their previous commodities marked with the exact price ; if these suited the merchants, they paid the price and took the goods. As these traders went, and came, and *sojourned*, the inhabitants of other kingdoms learned that this country was very beautiful ; these also came, and eventually established a great kingdom."\*

Fa-Hian who went to Anurádhapura about A.D. 410 direct from To-mo-li-ti in the Ganges (the Támalitti of the *Mahá-wansa* and almost on the site of Calcutta) says that he sailed thence by a trade wind to Ceylon in fourteen days and nights, (a surprisingly short time which accounts for the frequent intercourse between Ceylon and the Ganges). He took passage in one of some large vessels going on a merchant voyage to this Island. He proceeds to say that, arrived at Ceylon, "to the right and to the left there are *small islets* to the number of a hundred ; their distance from each other is in

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\* Laidlay's "Pilgrimage of Fa-Hian," translated from the *Foe koue ki* of MM. Remusat, Klaproth, and Landresse, 1848, pp. 332-3.

some cases 10 *li*, in others from 20 to 200 *li*; all are dependent upon the great Island.”\*

These islets answer perfectly to the islands of Jaffna, Delft, Iranaitivu, &c., on the one side of the Straits of Mannár, and on the other to Mannár and the connected islands with Kárativu, Ipantivu, Dutch Bay, and the long peninsula of the Akkara-pattu of recent geological formation, and very likely a line of islands in A.D. 400, and the small islets of the Puttalam lagoon, and the present peninsulas opposite Negombo and Chilaw. Fa-Hian goes on to say of the islands, “Many precious things and pearls are procured there.”

He further says :—“There is a district which produces the jewel *mo-ni* [a red gem probably, by the context, ruby] and which may be about 10 *li* square. The King sends people thither to protect it, and when they have gathered the jewels he takes three pieces out of every ten.”

Ten *li* would be three miles,\* and this district of red gems was possibly Nuwara Eliya, and not Sabaragamuwa.

This independent testimony of a Chinese pilgrim to Anurádhapura, in A.D. 410, is surely convincing proof that “the large ships” then traded with the North-Western coast of Ceylon as the emporium, and his account identifies the islands of the Arabian voyagers, and the King who had the hyacinth, as already quoted from their narratives.

It was not until A.D. 850, when Soleyman visited it, that we hear of any traveller actually visiting and identifying the gem-district, no doubt jealously guarded as a secret monopoly by the Kings of Anurádhapura.

The fact that former writers overlooked our islands North and South of the Straits of Mannár is not surprising,—they are

\* Laidlay’s “Pilgrimage of Fa-Hian,” translated from the *Foe koue ki* of MM. Remusat, Klaproth, and Landresse, p 330.

\* “Cinq *li* (1643 mètr.) font un peu plus d’un mille anglais (1609 mètr.)” (Stanislas Julien).—*Hon. Sec.*

so very small upon a map, although as I know myself, having boated amongst all of them, after actual inspection, they leave no mean impression upon one's mind, and Fa-Hian expressly tells us they are quite small.

Fa-Hian, I may add, returned from Ceylon to China in a trading boat which held 200 men, and halted for six months in Java, and thence he proceeded in a similar trading vessel direct to China.\*

In this connection we must not lose sight of the disputed narrative professing to be Philo's translation of *Sanchoniathon*,† —a narrative which to me seems beyond a doubt genuine—if not genuine as Sanchoniathon's, at least as that of some ancient traveller. The stress laid on Sanchoniathon styling Ceylon "the island of Rachius" as an evident plagiarism from Pliny is to me a false argument, and the whole of his treatise on Ceylon is literally a correct account of an ancient journey from the Puttalam coast to a town near the modern Kurunégala, one of the most ancient districts of former civilization. Philo's island of Rachius may clearly be 'the Rájá's Island,' while Pliny's Rachia is 'A'rachchiya,' an approximation at once perceptible. All throughout the N.W. coast of Ceylon, and as far in the interior as Anurádhapura and Kurunégala, the whole country is one continuous scene of ancient settlements. The extensive ruins of Tammanná Nuwara near Puttalam, and the adjacent town and tank of Mahá-tabuwa are known, and a constant succession of reservoirs and hewn stones mark the site of old villages and towns.

These reservoirs are principally tanks made solely to preserve water, and not like the historical ones of the Buddhist annals as sources for irrigation.

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\* Note (2).

† Tennent, "Ceylon," Vol. I. pp. 571-7.

We can scarcely expect, however, the trading ports of the coast to afford ruins, such as are seen on the site of the Buddhist cities of the interior, for the trading cities on the coast are said to have been singularly tolerant of all religions, and hence it is probable none were very dominant, while the King being only a Viceroy his palace would be a modest one. Now, except temples and palaces, it is well known no other buildings were built in a permanent way in ancient times, and so we must not be surprised that the trade which swept our coasts has left no very elaborate traces of its progress.

Again, perhaps I may notice as singularly illustrative of the hereditary nature of many qualities, that the villagers in the Tamil Wanni and Demala-pattu preserve to this day their characteristic hatred of any intrusion and their love of retirement. Just as in the days of the merchant sailors of Kalah the Yakkhos are described as hiding from sight, and leaving their merchandise on the shore for exchange : so we still find them withdrawing their houses from the busy high roads that now connect Puttalam with Kurunégala and Anurádhapura, and altogether abstaining from mixing in the commerce around them or the colonies of settlers that have come among them.

I must also notice that at Kalaputti, or Kalpiṭiya, during various excavations, large quantities of coins, gold and copper, have been brought to light, and of the latter the commonest bear the name of Sáhasa Mallawa, who reigned over Ceylon in A.D. 1202, though the Maháwaṃsa tells us that he was deposed after two years,—two facts apparently at variance with each other and requiring explanation ; others are of Líláwatí and Dharmáṣoka Déwa.

From the vast amount of treasure buried through some miles of the country shortly after A.D. 1202, it is clear there must have been at that time some great and unexpected calamity and

invasion, so that it is probable that when the rule of the Mahārājās of Zabedj finally collapsed and their wide domains fell under different sway, the protection withdrawn from Kalah was the cause of successful forays and inroads from the opposite coast of India or the Sinhalese capital, and that the wealthy community was then broken up and its trade abandoned.

From the absence of buried hoards of any extent before or after this date, there is no doubt no such previous invasion took place, and never since, for probably never again did it recover from the blow received.

Within four square miles in the memory of the older people, there has been found near Kalpitiya probably as much as a thousand pounds' worth of hidden treasure, gold coins and copper being the principal, but even a gold statue having been dug up by the father of the present Tamil Mudaliyār of the district.

To conclude, I have endeavoured to show that the emporium of Taprobane or Serendib, from B.C. 500 until a comparatively recent time, was not Galle, but the coast from Maññār to the Dēduru-oya (the Northern limit of the Māyā-raṭa): that it was separated from the capital of the Sinhalese by jealousies that account for the silence of the Sinhalese chronicles: and that it forms the Kalah so often referred to.

As to which point on its coast we are to regard as the emporium, I cannot on the data yet known decide. I incline to think however, that *the coast around, and opposite to, Kalpitiya formed the centre of trade*, and that the emporium was not one defined spot, but *a cluster of petty ports* all bartering the luxuries of the Far East for silver, and the wares of Europe, Persia, and Ethiopia; while the site of Tammanná Nuwara with the adjacent ruins of Mahá-tabuwa was the Capital of the ruler who governed under the Sultans of Zabedj.

There remains only one further matter in relation to my subject to which I need still refer in recapitulation, and that is the bearing on it of the ancient accounts of the inhabitants of Ceylon before the Aryan immigration under and subsequent to Wijaya.

They are described as of two classes, Yakkhos and Nágas. I think it is now universally accepted that Nágas were an aboriginal tribe of snake worshippers, and formed, with an infusion of Aryan blood, the bulk of our present Sinhalese. What then were the Yakkhos? Have I not succeeded in showing there was from the Islands of Adam's Bridge on the North, down to the Deduru-oya near Chilaw on the South, an ancient trading district forming an emporium for the East and West, and under a separate ruler of its own, opposed to the Chief King of the Nágas at Lańkápura and the Kings who succeeded Wijaya? What more natural than that the people of this colony of the empire of Zabedj should be the Yakkhos, or demon worshippers (? Saivites), as opposed to the Nágas, or snake worshippers, who were the aborigines of the rest of the Island; and what more probable than that as the Sinhalese of to-day represent the race of Nágas, so the Tamils of the Jaffna Wanni, Eastern Province, and the Puttalam District represent the Yakkhos who held the country in which was the port, and who were opposed to the Nágas who held the rest of the Island.

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## NOTES.

### (1)

I think the references here made to the Ceylon Nágas, as snake worshippers, perhaps justify the following note:—

In the Ceylon Museum will be found the pottery image of a coiled cobra and also what looks like a lamp. These are of a peculiar and heavy pottery different to any I have yet seen from Ceylon. They were the only relics found under a crumbling heap of brickwork excavated on a little quoin rock in Bintenna, and are, as far as I know,

the only such recorded relics of the Ophid, or Nága, cult in Ceylon.

I was for a long while struck with surprise that the Ophid, or Nága, image should have been enclosed in a mound of brick like a Buddhist relic, but on reading the notes in Fa-Hian's account of the combination of the Buddhist with the ancient Ophid cult at Samkassa (chapter xvii of Laidlay's translation) in this connection, I unexpectedly found Cunningham describing the ruins of the Ophid shrine as follows: "It is a small mound of ruined bricks dedicated to the worship of the Nága. Nothing whatever is erected there; but whenever rain is desired the people proceed to the spot and pray for it. The period of annual worship however is the month of Bysákh, [? Singhalese, Wesak, වෙසක්] just before the commencement of the seasonal rains, when the village *women* go there in procession and make offerings of milk, which they pour out on the spot. This is no doubt the identical dragon (Nága) which Fa-Hian mentions as appearing 'once every year,' from whose favour the people of Sengkia-shi [this is Samkassa] obtained propitious rains and abundant harvests."

I shall be excused for here further quoting the text of Fa-Hian (A.D. 400) to show the conclusive grounds for believing the Ophid cult actually witnessed by Captain Cunningham was practically identical with that witnessed by Fa-Hian. "Their stay being ended, the dragon assumes the form of a little serpent with *two ears bordered with white*. When the ecclesiastics perceive him, they present him with cream in a copper vessel.....He comes out once every year." And again *ante*: "It is he who confers fertility and abundance on the country by causing gentle showers to fall upon the fields, and securing them against all calamities."

I italicise two points in these accounts as worthy of attention: the one is the ascendancy of "women" in the Ophid ceremony, and the other is the expression "two ears bordered with white." With reference to the former I draw attention to the ascendancy of woman as quite antagonistic to the usual Indo-Aryan customs, and suggest an additional deduction from it, that the Ophid cult was not of origin among an Indo-Aryan race; as to the snake, local knowledge enables me to

point out that there is a peculiar word always for the hood, or *pené*.\* of the cobra, which would have no Chinese equivalent, and which it would be difficult for Fa-Hian to translate or express without a very long explanation. No doubt Fa-Hian when he says "white ears" means 'white sides to the hood'; and it is well known that in India and Ceylon this albino, or partially albino, cobra is not very uncommon, and regarded with special veneration.

It is generally known that if enquiry be made from any intelligent old Singhalese villager as to the habits of the cobra, he states that it has a special passion for new milk, and can always be enticed from its lurking place by a bowl of this delicacy. Are we to regard this belief as arising from fact, and originating milk as the offering made to the Nāga? or has a tradition that milk is the offering made given rise to the popular belief?

This is a most interesting question, and it is much to be wished one of our Members would experiment and report on the attraction milk or cream may, or may not, possess for the cobra.

In this connection I have asked my friend Mr. Haly, Director of the Ceylon Museum, if possible, to exhibit the Nāga and lamp presented by me to the Museum at the reading of this Paper, and also to exhibit for me two especially fine and ancient masks of the mythical King and Queen of the Nāgas procured by me in the interior of the Southern Province, and still in my collection. I think it is possible what appears to be a lamp (found just in front of the snake) is in reality the dish for the offering of milk.

## (2)

This Paper is so largely mixed up with matter extracted from Fa Hian's travels, that the following notes on his account of Ceylon may be here appended:—

(i.) Firstly, observe the hitherto (as far as I know) neglected passage in which he, a devout Buddhist Priest, says the tradition in A. D. 400 was that the sacred Bó tree was grown at Anurádhapura

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\* S. පෙනේ, 'the cobra's hood,' and පෙනෙනෙබ්, *penagoba*, 'the inside of the extended hood.'—*Hon. Sec.*



from “*seeds*” specially fetched from the Gangetic District. Fa-Hian’s careful account of it throws much doubt on the otherwise miraculous, and to a horticulturist improbable, story, that the tree was a cutting from the original. No doubt, I think, the Singhalese chronicles have been tampered with, and the origin of the tree embellished since Fa-Hian wrote.

(ii.) “The Mountain without Fear” is correctly identified in the notes to Laidlay’s edition (p. 342) as the Abhayagiri Vihâré.

(iii.) With regard to the chapel “*Po-thi*,” should we not read this “Bodhi”? The Samanean’s name we may safely read as “Dharmajoti,” for *Tha-mo-kin-ti* as it is written in Chinese—a language unfitted to express Sanscrit more precisely. The “stone house” in which Dharmajoti lived with his rats and snakes is no doubt the literal rendering of ‘cave,’ still called by the Singhalese *gal-gé*, ගැල, ‘stone house.’

(iv.) Who were “the merchants *Sa-pho*”? I think this is worth enquiring, but, as far as I can see, the word must be a Chinese substitute for the original.

(v.) As to the statue at the Abhayagiri Vihâré made of “blue jasper” and over 18 feet high, of what was the lustrous image really made? It is not conceivable so large a block of lapis lazuli could have found its way to Ceylon from North Asia, nor have turquoise or sapphire ever been heard of of such size.

The only approximate artificial product then known was the rare and beautiful blue glass used for the celebrated Portland vase, and the Theban pottery coated with a brilliant blue enamel like turquoise, of which small gods and amulets form the exquisite speciality of Egyptian antiquity. Is it possible this statue was made in Egypt for sale in Ceylon? Or that an ancient Egyptian god was brought to Ceylon for sale after its worship had died out in Egypt.

Any fragment with blue enamel on it found among the *débris* near the Abhayagiri Vihâré should be carefully preserved, as its origin could at once be decided if Egyptian, and by encouraging a further search of the *débris* might lead to the partial recovery of an unique antiquity.

(vi.) It is also desirable to note the tradition that the "great tower 40 *chang*\* high" (? the Brazen Palace) was built over a footstep of Buddha.

(vii.) The visit of the King to the Treasury of the Priesthood where the coveted "*Mo-ni*" (? ruby) was kept, will be found described in the Sinhalese chronicles, which, if my memory can be trusted, say the treasure chamber was under a Dágoba to which they had access by a secret passage.

(viii.) Fa-Hian describes the Daḷadā temple at Anurādhapura in A. D. 410, as decorated "with the seven precious things." It may not be out of place to draw attention to the Chinese interpretation of these. (See Fa-Hian, Laidlay's edition, chapter xiii, and note (4) by Klaproth.)

Two series are here given from the Chinese Buddhist writings, but I think they are scarcely in each case rightly translated, and propose the following corrections:—

*First series.*

1.—*Sou-fa-lo*—(suvarna)=gold.

2.—*A-lou-pa*—(rúpiya)=silver.

3.—*Licou-li*—in the *Kouan-king-sou* called *Feï-lieou-li-ye* which signifies "not far." This is explained as identical with *Vaidúrya* (Sanskrit)—the mountain *Vidúra* on which *Vaidúrya* was found being "not far" (i. e., "Vidúra") from Benares. Burnouf translated *Vaidúrya* as "lapis lazuli." This I think is wrong. The hardness, the colour (green or blue), and the locality, all point to Oriental turquoise as the mineral here denoted, and there can be little doubt *Lieou-li* must be read "turquoise" and not "lapis lazuli." I doubt the identification with *Vaidúrya*, which I have always elsewhere construed as corundum or sapphire.

4.—*Pho-li*, or *Se-pho-ti-kia* (sphaṭika)=rock crystal.

5.—*Meou-pho-lo-kie-la-pho*. This is star sapphire or asteria, not fossil, ammonite as somewhat wildly conjectured; the rays of the

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\* "A *chang* is a measure of 10 Chinese feet, and the Chinese foot is 8 lines shorter than ours."

star form the spokes of the wheel. May we not recognise in the wheel formed by the star on a round gem of asteria, the sacred symbol of the wheel, which accounts for the present belief among some Oriental races that there is a god in the asteria, although they have forgotten the reason for their superstition, and substitute the god for the symbol?

6.—*Mo-lo-kia-li*=agate.

7.—*Po-mo-lo-kia* (padmarága)=ruby.

We must here notice this ancient origin of the still existing Ceylon superstition, that the finest rubies lie in the head of cobras. This extraordinary myth seems to have been an accepted matter when the Chinese authors wrote.

May we not now translate this myth as simply the exaggerated form that arose when the Indo-A'ryan races began to confuse the Nágas (ophid cult) and Yakkhos (perhaps an early form of Saivites) with actual snakes and demons, in which secondary sense the original name of the races evidently came after a time to be used by the A'ryan invaders? It might then simply mean, the Nágas with whom rubies are found in a secret and jealously guarded place, instead of the rubies hidden in the head of the cobras and jealously guarded, as we have recently been too literally interpreting it.

### *Second Series.*

1.—*Po-lo-so*=(prabála) coral. Here I ask your attention to the Chinese account, that it was found on an Island to the S.W. [of the Gangetic countries or ? of China] and dredged by iron nets from submerged rocks [evidently at a great depth, or divers would have

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\* "*Nagloh* (snake land) was at an early period a Hindú name for hell. But the *Nágas* were not real snakes—in that case they might have fared better—but an aboriginal tribe in Ceylon, believed by the Hindús to be of serpent origin,—*Nága* being an epithet for 'native.' The term is now used very vaguely. Mr. Talboys Wheeler, speaking of the 'Scythic Nágas' (History of India, Vol. I. p. 147), says:—'In process of time these Nágas became identified with serpents, and the result has been a strange confusion between serpents and human beings.' In the 'Padma Purána' we read of 'serpent-like men.' The dreaded powers were from another tribe designated *Yakkhos* 'demons.'"—Conway, "Demonology and Devil-lore," Vol. I., p. 151.—*Hon. Sec.*

been employed]. This account agrees with fact. On the S.W. coast of Ceylon at Balapitiya, a considerable quantity of small pieces of valuable red coral, much water-worn, are annually washed up during the S.W. monsoon. The site on which it grows is no longer known, possibly it may come from a great distance S.W. of our coast, though I am inclined to think not from such a distance as the Máldives.

I have asked Mr. Haly to exhibit some coral picked up by me as above described.

2.—*A-chy-ma-kie-pho* (? *asmagarbha*). This is I think wrongly identified as amber. This transparent red substance should be translated carbuncle or garnet. It was in carbuncle that ancient Indian intaglios were cut, the translucency of the stone when cut thin giving great effect to the workmanship.

3.—*Ma-ni* or *mo-ni*=pearl.

4.—*Chin-shou-kia*—a gem like the flower of the *kimsuka* tree (*Butea frondosa*) [see First Book, Indian Botany, Olliver], that is of an orange red colour. This unidentified substance should be translated Oriental topaz (yellow; pink or orange corundum), one variety of which satisfactorily answers to the description.

5.—*Shy-kia-pi-ling-kia*—not translated. This may be read diamond. The word “*pi-ling-kia*” is evidently of common origin from Sanskrit, with the modern Singhalese *pāṇṇu* (පාණු), which is used for crystal.

6.—*Mo-lo-kia-pho*—translated *marakata*, or emerald. I would suggest another interpretation of chrysoberyl, or cat’s-eye.

The Indian cat’s-eye (quartz) is of remarkable softness, and is cut even by a pen-knife. The two forms of cat’s-eye may have been confused. Has the Chinese form “*Mo-lo-kia*” any origin in the Indo-A’ryan word “soft” (S. *molok*, මොලොක)? I am not myself scholar enough to say whether this word was then used in the Gangetic District in the sense of softness—easy to cut. The same word occurs above possibly in *Mo-lo-kia-li* (agate), from which we learn vases were cut. I recall a passage in some old Oriental book—I forget which, but think it is in the *Ummagga Jataka*—in which this word *moloka* is used in reference to the softness of a thigh as a pillow. Perhaps one of our Members may be able to rectify my

ignorance by stating whether such a word for 'soft' was in Indo-A'ryan usage in above sense of 'easy to cut.'

7.—*Pa-che-lo*.—This is translated *vajra*, or diamond, and is clearly erroneous. The colour, we are told, is like that of an amethyst and the stone is used for engraving others. It must be translated sapphire or corundum.

We have in these (what the learned annotators of course could not see with the imperfect light then thrown on the minerals) a parallel series in colour, thus :—

Light	{	gold=Oriental topaz=? sun=? life.
		silver=pearl=? moon=? death.
Five elements	{	Crystal=diamond=? ether.
		Asteria=(emerald or) cat's-eye=? air.
		Turquoise=sapphire=? water.
		Ruby=carbuncle=? fire.
	{	Agate=coral=? earth.

Both gold and silver have in the ancient books one four-fold attribute, of which "changeless," "indestructible," "incorruptible," and "omnipotent" would be the euphonious transcription.

"The seven precious things" might thus symbolise the five elements :—*ether* which is supported by (? generating) air, *air* supported by (? generating) *fire* resting on water, and *water* supported by (generating) *earth*, all adorned by the attributes of gold and silver : that is changeless, indestructible, incorruptible, and omnipotent, in one sense, and combined with light—*i. e.*, sun and moon—in another.

This is a well-known ancient symbol of the elements.

A, ether—B, air—C, fire—D, water—and E, earth—which, by adoption among Buddhists give rise to the present Dágobas, originally no doubt erected over his remains, and symbolically used to show the return of Gautama Buddha to the five primitive and indestructible elements. We should thus have the shape of the Dágoba borrowed from the symbol of creation of an older cult by the Buddhists, and further illustration of it by the seven precious ornaments.

In addition, then, to the question of the colours probably symbolising the five elements with neither beginning nor end, I would suggest



the study amongst our Members of the question, whether in our ancient records there is any account showing that the five colours were applied separately to the different parts of the Stúpa or Dágoba, which I suggest they may symbolise. Thus, whether the rectangular case was painted red, the dome was painted blue, &c.

It is quite possible the colouring of a Stúpa may have been so arranged and a record preserved thereof.

To recapitulate. I suggest these “seven precious things” are the symbol of a cult which taught that the five elements combined with light (sun and moon) are the origin of all things and source of creation. In detail we may read the symbol that by action of (light causing) fire (heat) on water resting on earth proceeds air penetrated by the apex of the triangle of fire (heat), above which rests ether from which the triangle fire radiates *but into which it does not enter*; thus giving us in ether, or the firmament above our atmosphere, combined with sun and moon, or light, the creative power which shaped the earth into its four other distinct elements. Bearing this in mind, a special interest will follow the work of local students, who will take the trouble to record the exact shape of the various Stúpas or Dágobas still existent, or adequately described in ancient records, as they gradually diverged from the primitive type.

My view of the original Buddhist symbolised theory of creation, here suggested, accounts for the early Buddhist writers classing the theory of creation of the contemporary sect they call “strong-mouth” as an heresy. This sect, existing in and established before the lifetime of Gautama Buddha, taught that ether begat air, air begat fire—fire, heat—heat, water—water, ice—and the ice solidified begat earth—and earth begat five kinds of grain, which produce life, which when ended returns to ether.

It will be seen then “the heresy” would consist in the interpolation of a glacial period in the earth’s stage of development into dry land, and the mediation of vegetation derived from land; thus the meaning veiled in the seven precious things of early Buddhism is closely akin—but brings in the action of sun and moon, and omits glacial and vegetable influence on creation.

## ON THE SINGHALESE OBSERVANCE OF THE KALA'WA.

By L. NELL, Esq.

SOME time ago my attention was drawn to the belief of the common people amongst the Singhalese in the *kaláwa* (කලාව). This, according to the impression left on my mind, was some moveable principle or predisposition, moving in a certain course in the human body in accordance with the lunar calendar. The believers in the *kaláwa* assert, that when it is in position on the crown of the head, the scratch of a pin on that part would be sufficient to cause death ; so, on the day of this *kaláwa*, women in some parts of the interior of the Island will decline to carry loads of firewood on the head. In like manner, on the new moon day labourers will not go into the jungle to clear it, on account of the risk of injuries to the toe of the foot. On the 6th day of the first half, and the 10th day of the second half, of the lunar month, it is considered dangerous to take a purgative medicine, the seat of the *kaláwa* being then supposed to be in the belly. On the 7th day leeches should not be applied to the region of the chest.

In the case of a *man*, the *kaláwa* rises, with the moon, from the big toe of the right foot, from part to part, till, on the 15th day of the moon, it reaches the crown of the head. It then descends in corresponding parts on the left side, till, on the 30th day, it reaches the big toe of the left foot, ready again to ascend on the right side. In the case of a *woman*, the movement is reversed, since it ascends on the left side and descends on the right, the positions being otherwise the same : that is, the *kaláwa* ascends from the left great toe upwards to the crown of the head, then descends by the same degrees to the right toe. This corresponds to a principle in native

palmistry, according to which the fortune of a *male* is told from the lines on his *right* hand, of a *female* from those on the *left* hand.

I found subsequently that Tables of the *kaláwa* had been published in a Sheet Almanac, printed in a native vernacular press in Galle,—in a Sinhalese Ephemeris for the year, printed in a pamphlet of 54 pages,—and in a Sheet Almanac published by the press of the *Lakrivikirana* newspaper. Though this led to the idea that the subject was well known, I was surprised to find discrepancies when the Tables were translated. This led me to make personal enquiries during a short visit to the Bentota District, where I questioned the learned priest, Kohomala Indusára, and a native *Vedarála* or medical practitioner. I was surprised to find that the latter had little or no knowledge of a subject so important, apparently, in native medical science.

In the discussion with the priest, a difficulty arose from his division of the lunar month into sixteen *kalá*; namely, (1) *Amánaka*, අමාවක, the day on which the moon does not appear; (2) *Pélaviya*, පෙළවිය, the day on which the moon first appears; (3) *Diyawaka*, දියවක, the second day; (4) *Tiyawaka*, තියවක, the third day; (5) *Jalanaka*, ජලවක, fourth; (6) *Wiséniya*, විසේනිය, fifth; (7) *Saṭawaka*, සටවක; (8) *Satawaka*, සතවක; (9) *Aṭawaka*, අටවක; (10) *Namawaka*, නමවක; (11) *Dasawaka*, දසවක; (12) *Ekaḷoswaka*, එකළොස්වක; (13) *Doḷoswaka*, දෙළොස්වක; (14) *Teleswaka*, තෙළෙස්වක; (15) *Tuduswaka*, තුදුස්වක; and (16) *Pasaḷoswaka*, පසළොස්වක.

This, of course, omitting the day on which the moon does not appear, is the lunar calendar—the full moon with the common people being known as the *pahaḷoswaka-póya* (පහළොස්වක පෝය) or ‘*póya* of the 15th lunar day.’ The counting of the *kalá* on which the moon does not appear introduces a



difficulty, since the *kaláwa* can ordinarily be only counted with 30 lunar days. The sixteen *kalá*, enumerated by the priest, therefore refer to the intervals between these “days,” and correspond to the 16th part of the disc of the moon, which will be referred to in a definition to be here quoted.

In the month during which I was making these enquiries, the new moon had risen on Wednesday, the 30th of March, at 3.52 P.M. : the first quarter, on Wednesday, the 6th of April, at 9.14 P.M. : the full moon on the next Thursday, at 5.9 P.M. : and the last quarter moon on Thursday, the 28th of April, at 3.44 P.M. So that, even taking the particulars given in an English Almanac, it must be a matter of difficulty for ordinary natives to fix the exact time of the commencement and close of each *kaláwa*, granting that it corresponds with a particular lunar day. This probably led to the neglect of this part of the native science in the empirical practice of the *Vedarálas*. It will also appear that even with the assistance of the native Tables (translations of which are appended), the science will be of difficult application till the limits of each *kaláwa* are more accurately limited. The duration of a particular *kaláwa* may, of course, be roughly recognized during some part of a lunar day, and the most ignorant native is usually aware of the principal phases of the moon from the practice of faithfully observing the *póya* days.

L. De Zoyza, Mahá-Mudaliyár, after kindly making enquiries at my request, wrote :—“I have received the explanation of two of the best *Vedarálas* here about the *kaláwa*; but they are somewhat contradictory, and I cannot make much sense of them. The truth is that their ideas of the matter are very vague.”

Under these circumstances the derivation of the term is calculated to throw some light on the subject. According to the priest, already referred to, the term *kalá* may be Sanskrit,

Páli, or Elu, and means 'a share.' De Zoyza, Máha-Mudaliyár, pronounces it a Sanskrit, or Páli word, to which the following meanings have been given in the Dictionaries :—(i) 'a part'; (ii) 'a fraction'; (iii) 'the 16th part of the Moon's disc'; (iv) 'a mechanical act'; (v) 'a division of time.' The *kalá*, කලා, or *Kaláva*, කලාව, in Singhalese, of which we are now treating, he renders as 'the sixteenth part, or digit, of the moon's disc, which in some mysterious way ascends and descends in the human body.' As it is always difficult to apply a term of one language to translate a term of another accurately, each in its native use being associated with ideas foreign to the other, we must modify this definition. I think my original conception will consist with taking *kaláva* as a derivative from *kalá*, and the idea obtained will therefore be, that of some moving principle, or local predisposition, following a course in the human body in relation to the course of the moon in her increase and decrease.

In the examination of the calendar of the *kaláva*, many discrepancies occur in the various versions received by me. I propose to add translations of the two published versions, as they are probably more generally accepted on account of their publication. The principal discrepancies in the various accounts are in the fourth *kaláva*, described as "the calf" or "the knee-cap"; the eleventh described as "the lip," "the lower lip," "the cheek." This second discrepancy may spring from the general application of the term *tola* තොල to the region of the fore-teeth, the lips, cheek, and chin.

But besides these discrepancies in details, I found that my original information, distinguishing the *Mul-kaláva*, මුලකලාව from the *Amrita-kaláva*, අමූතකලාව (erroneously called *Mruta-kaláva*, මූතකලාව) was altogether wrong. It appears that in Singhalese popular medical works the *Amrita-kaláva* means literally 'the ambrosial' or 'good' *kaláva*. The

*Visa-kaláva*, විසකලාව, I would translate as 'the baneful (literally, 'poisonous') *kaláva*.' It will be seen in the Table taken from the *Lakriviikirāṇa* Sheet Almanac that the *Visa-kaláva* is said to ascend on the left side in males, and on the right in females. This Table and that from the *Lita* or Ephemeris for the year give both the *Visa-kaláva* and *Amrita-kaláva*, which I have not obtained from other sources. There can be no doubt that the *Mul-kaláva*, commonly spoken of, is the same as the *Amrita-kaláva*. The Sinhalese *Lita* (page 50) advises that if the *Amrita-kaláva* locates itself in any part of the body, care should be taken of it, as "life" then chiefly exists in it. In the case of *Visa-kaláva* it is asserted that any wound or hurt to the part where it is located will bring calamity or death. The distinction of effect is not very clear, except that a hurt in the latter case appears to be considered as more directly baneful. The only explanations remaining to be made are: first, that when the *kaláva* is in the arm-pit or shoulder, the whole arm and hand are involved; and secondly, that the *Amrita-kaláva* moves at a certain distance from the *Visa-kaláva*.

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## KALĀWA TABLES.

THE *Kalāwa* Table appearing in the Sheet Almanac of the *Lakri-vikirāṇa* is as follows :—

Ascending *Visa-kalāwa*.

## නගින විසකලාව.

1 Toe	...	මාපටිහිල්ලේ
2 Instep	...	පතුලේ
3 Calf	...	කෙණෙඳි
4 Knee-cap	...	දහරුසේ
5 <i>Yóniyé</i>	...	යෝනියේ
6 Middle of belly	...	බඩමැද
7 Pap	...	තනේ
8 Arm-pit	...	කිහිල්ලේ
9 Neck	...	බෙල්ලේ
10 Chin	...	සොඬේ
11 Lip	...	තොලේ
12 Root of tooth	...	දහමුල
13 Upon eye	...	ඇසපිට
14 Forehead	...	නලලේ
15 Crown of head	...	ඉසමුදුනේ

Ascending *Amrita-kalāwa*.

## නගින අමෘතකලාව.

1 Toe (bottom)	...	මාපටිහිල්ලේයට
2 Toe (back)	...	මාපටිහිල්ලේපිට
3 Heel	...	විලුඟි
4 Calf	...	බත්කෙණෙඳි
5 Knee-cap	...	දහරුසේ
6 Hip, waist, or loins	...	තුකවියේ
7 Near <i>Yóniya</i>	...	යෝනියලඟ
8 <i>Yóniyé</i>	...	යෝනියේ
9 Abdomen	...	යටිබඩ
10 Palm of hand	...	ඇතුල්අල්ලේ
11 Pap	...	තනේ
12 Shoulders	...	උරේ
13 Neck	...	තුලලේ
14 Lip	...	තොලේ
15 Crown of head	...	ඉසමුදුනේ

Descending *Visa-kalāwa*.

## බගින විසකලාව.

16 Crown of head	...	ඉසමුදුනේ
(right)	...	(දකුණු)
17 Forehead	...	නලලේ
18 Eye	...	ඇසේ
19 Lip	...	තොලමුල
20 Root of teeth	...	දහමුල
21 On the chin	...	සොබුපිට

Descending *Amrita-kalāwa*.

## බගින අමෘතකලාව.

16 Forehead	...	නලලේ
17 Ear	...	කණේ
18 Neck	...	තුලලේ
19 Shoulder	...	උරේ
20 Pap	...	තනේ
21 Back of hand	...	පිටිඅල්ලේ

22 Neck ... බෙල්ලේ	22 Palm of hand ඇතුල්අල්ලේ
23 Arm-pit ... කිහිල්ලේ	23 Stomach ... බඩ
24 Pap ... තෘණ	24 Back ... පිටිමුලේ
25 Middle stomach බඩමැද	25 Knee-cap... දකඳුණේ
26 <i>Yóniyé</i> ... යෝනියේ	26 Instep .. පතුලේ
27 Knee-cap ... දකඳුණේ	27 Heel ... විදුලි
28 Calf ... කොණ්ඩ	28 Sole of foot යටිපතුලේ
29 Instep ... පතුලේ	29 Below toe මාපටිහිල්ලේ යට
30 Toe ... මාපටිහිල්ලේ	30 Back of toe මාපටිහිල්ලේ උඩ

විෂකලාව පුරුෂයින්ගේ වම්පස පටන්ගන්නේය : සත්‍රියන්ගේ දකුණෙන්ය.

“*Visa-kalāwa* commences from the *left* side in *males*: from the *right* side in *females*.”

The following Tables, taken from the *Lita* or Ephemeris published at Galle by one Philip De Silva, an Astrologer, must explain themselves :—

The manner in which the *Visa-kalāwa*

Moves up.			Moves down.		
The Moon waxing.	In Males.	In Females.	The Moon waning.	In Males.	In Females.
15	Left ear	Right ear	1	Left neck	Right neck
14	„ mouth	„ mouth	2	„ pap	„ pap
13	„ nose	„ nose	3	„ heart	„ heart
12	„ eye	„ eye	4	„ belly	„ belly
11	„ eyebrow	„ eyebrow	5	„ <i>linguva</i>	„ <i>yóni</i>
10	„ head	„ head	6	„ knee	„ knee
9	Right head	Left head	7	„ ankle	„ ankle
8	„ eyebrow	„ eyebrow	8	„ sole	„ sole
7	„ eye	„ eye	9	„ toe	„ toe
6	„ nose	„ nose	10	Right toe	Left toe
5	„ mouth	„ mouth	11	„ sole	„ sole
4	„ ear	„ ear	12	„ ankle	„ ankle
3	„ neck	„ neck	13	„ knee	„ knee
2	„ pap	„ pap	14	„ <i>rahasé</i>	„ <i>rahasé</i>
1	„ heart	„ heart	<i>Amá*</i>	„ belly	„ belly

\* Abbreviation of *Amáwaka* (අමාවක) *i. e.* no moon or visible disk.

The manner in which the *Amrita-kalāva*

Ascends from the first appearance of the Moon.			Descends after the Full Moon.		
The Moon waxing.	From the toe of the right foot of Males.	From the toe of the left foot of Females.	The Moon waning.	From the left of the head of Males.	From the right of the head of Females.
15	Right head	Left head	1	Left head	Right head
14	„ forehead	„ forehead	2	„ forehead	„ forehead
13	„ eye	„ eye	3	„ eye	„ eye
12	„ nose	„ nose	4	„ nose	„ nose
11	„ cheek	„ cheek	5	„ cheek	„ cheek
10	„ ear	„ ear	6	„ ear	„ ear
9	„ neck	„ neck	7	„ neck	„ neck
8	„ pap	„ pap	8	„ pap	„ pap
7	„ heart	„ heart	9	„ heart	„ heart
6	„ navel	„ navel	10	„ navel	„ navel
5	„ <i>linguva</i>	„ <i>yóni</i>	11	„ <i>linguva</i>	„ <i>yóni</i>
4	„ calf	„ calf	12	„ calf	„ calf
3	„ ankle	„ ankle	13	„ ankle	„ ankle
2	„ sole	„ sole	14	„ sole	„ sole
1	„ foot	„ toe	15	„ toe	„ toe

## NOTE ON THE ORIGIN OF THE VEDDÁS, WITH A FEW SPECIMENS OF THEIR SONGS AND CHARMS.

BY LOUIS DE ZOYSA, Mahá-Mudaliyár.


(*Read July 6th, 1881.*)

IN submitting the following Note to the Society, it is not my intention to enter upon the vexed question of the origin of the Veddás, but simply to call attention to an important passage in the Maháwaṇso relating thereto, the true meaning of which has been long hidden from the readers of that work by an erroneous rendering in Mr. Turnour's translation.

The 6th chapter of the Maháwaṇso gives an account of the arrival of Vijayo, the first monarch of the Singhalese dynasty, B. C. 543. The 7th chapter relates his encounter with an aboriginal Princess named *Kuvéni*, how he married her, and how he conquered the Island by her means.

When she had borne him two children, a son named *Jiva-hatto* and a daughter named *Disála*, the King wished to divorce her and marry a Princess from Southern Madura. For this purpose he sent ambassadors to King Paṇḍavo of Madura, soliciting his daughter in marriage, and duly obtained his consent. On the arrival of the Princess from India, Vijayo "thus explained himself to Kuwéni: 'A daughter of royalty is a timid being; on that account, leaving the children with me, depart from my house.' She replied: 'On my account, having murdered Yakkhos, I dread these Yakkhos; now I am discarded

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 It is due to Mr. De Zoysa to record that he had no opportunity of perusing the Papers on the Veddás—only very recently received from England—of Messrs. J. Bailey (Trans. Ethnological Soc., Vol. II. *n.s.*, Art. xxvi., 1863), and B. F. Hartshorne (Fortnightly Review, Art. v, March, 1876), prior to writing the "Note" now printed. Mr. De Zoysa's Paper has been delayed, whilst in the press, to enable the Honorary Secretary to add (necessarily as Notes) some extracts bearing thereon.

by both parties, whither can I betake myself?' 'Within my dominions,' said he, 'to any place thou pleasest, which is unconnected with Yakkhos; and I will maintain thee with a thousand bali offerings.' She who had been thus interdicted (from re-uniting herself with the Yakkhos) with clamorous lamentation, taking her children with her, in the character of an inhuman being, wandered to that very city (Lañkápura) of inhuman inhabitants. She left her children outside the Yakkha city. A Yakkho who detested her, recognising her in her search for a dwelling, went up to her. Thereupon another fierce Yakkho, among the enraged Yakkhos, asked: 'Is it for the purpose of again and again spying out the peace we enjoy that she is come?' In his fury he killed the Yakkhini with a blow of his open hand. Her uncle (a Yakkho named Kumáro) happening to proceed out of the Yakkha city, seeing these children outside the town—'Whose children are ye?' said he. Being informed 'Kuwéni's,' he said: 'Your mother is murdered: if ye should be seen here, they would murder you also—fly quickly.' Instantly departing thence, they repaired to the (neighbourhood of the) Sumanta mountain. The elder having grown up, married his sister, and settled there. Becoming numerous by their sons and daughters, under the protection of the King they resided in that Malayá district. This person (Jíwahatto) retained the attributes of the Yakkhos."\*

Now, I submit that the rendering of the words "එසෙසු පුලින්දකයෙහි සමහරෙ" [*Eso pulindāṇaṇ hi sambhavo*] by "this person (Jíwahatto) retained the attributes of the Yakkhos," is erroneous, and that the words should be rendered "*This is the origin of the Pulindá*"—i. e., the *Veddás*.<sup>1</sup>

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\* Turnour's "*Mahāvamsa*," Vol. I., p. 52: Cotta, 1837. Followed by Forbes' "Eleven Years in Ceylon," Vol. II., p. 81; Pridham's "Ceylon, &c.," Vol. I., p. 27; and Tennent's "Ceylon," Vol. I., p. 371.—*Hon. Sec.*



In the first place, the word “පුලින්ද” [*Pulindá*] which Mr. Turnour renders by “Yakkhos” (who are supposed to be supernatural beings), is never applied to Yakkhos, but means *Veddás*. The following is the meaning given by Professor H. H. Wilson in his Dictionary of the Sanskrit language, p. 545 : “S. V. Pulinda, a barbarian ; a mléchéh’ha ; a savage or mountaineer ; one who uses an uncultivated and unintelligible dialect, &c.”<sup>2</sup> The Sinhalese vocabulary, the *Námávaliya*, gives “*Pulindu*” as one of the synonyms for *Veddás*,

වැදි වෙල්, පුලින්ද, වනසර (නමි වැද්දන්ට).\*

[*Vēdi, mal, pulindu, vanasara (nam veddanta).*]

Strangely, this word does not occur in the Páli language. It is not found in the *Abhidhánappadīpikā*, the only authorized vocabulary of the Páli language, nor in Childers’ Páli Dictionary, nor in any other Páli work I have seen. But this need not excite much surprise, as Sanskrit words, not found in the Páli vocabulary, are sometimes found in Páli writings; *e. g.*, in this very chapter of the *Mahāvamsa* the word “සුරුංගා” [*surungá*], which is pure Sanskrit and not found in the Páli vocabulary, is used for a “subterraneous abode.”

In the second place, “සමභව” [*sambhavo*], which Mr. Turnour translates “attributes,” means, according to Childers’ Páli Dictionary (p. 431), “production, birth, *origin*, cause, union, &c., &c.”

The demonstrative adjective “එසා” [*éso*] (nom. sing. m.) Mr. Turnour refers to *Jivahatto* understood, but the more

\* Alwis’ *Námávaliya*, p. 59, v. 225. Colombo, 1858. As also the *Nava-námavaliya*, p. 14, v. 109 :—

වැද්දන්ට...සබර, වැදි, පුලින්ද, වනසර, මලදරු (ද)  
මිලින්ද, ලැව් (මේ නමි සන වැද්දන්ට නමි ද.)

Veddanta ... Sabara, vēdi, *pulindu*, vanasara, maladaru (da)  
Milindu, lēvi (mé nam sata vēdihāṭa nami da).

Note by Hon. Sec.

natural construction, I think, is to connect it with the noun *sambhavo* (nom. sing. m.) "origin."

I discovered this erroneous rendering many years ago, but for obvious reasons I have refrained from calling public attention to it. The truth is, I was extremely reluctant to do so from fear that I might unwittingly lead others to think that Turnour's translation of the Mahāvaṃso is generally incorrect. Such is not my opinion. The few mistakes found in this great work are mere "spots on the sun," and I do not think there is a better translation of a historical work in the East. It is not too much to say that this "gifted Englishman" has, by his writings and researches, undoubtedly done more for the development of the *historical* literature of India and Ceylon than all his predecessors and successors, both European and native.

My belief is, that Mr. Turnour's Kandyan Paṇḍits, not knowing the meaning of this unusual word "පුලිඳු" [*Pulinda*] which, as I stated above, is not found in the Pāli vocabulary, erroneously interpreted it to mean "*Yakkho*" instead of "*Veḍḍā*."

I may here add that I have had the satisfaction of discovering that my reading is confirmed by the Commentary on the Mahāvaṃso, which has the following gloss on the passage in question :—

"පුලිඳුනංහි සමභවොති එතභිකාරො කාරණෙන යසමා  
තෙ පුලිඳුනං ආදිපුරිසා හුතවා තත්ථ වසිංසු තස්මා එතභි  
පුලිඳුනං එසො සමභවො ආයුප්පත්තිති විකේශකයෙන අතො  
සිති අතො."

"*Pulindānaṃ hi sambhavoti. Etthahikāro kāraṇatthe. Yasmā te Pulindānaṃ ādi purisā hutvā tattha vasiṃsu. Tasmā ettha Pulindānaṃ eso sambhavo āyuppatṭiti viññeyyo ahośi ti attho.*"

"*Pulindānaṃ hi sambhavoti.*"—Here the letter '*hi*' signifies 'cause' or 'reason.' On what account did they, becoming the progenitors (*ādi purisā*) of the *Pulindā*, reside here (Malaya Division), on that account it should be known that this is the origin, first existence, of the *Pulindā*."

It will be seen from the above exegesis that *they* (Kuvéni's children, Jiwahatto and Disála) are spoken of by the commentator as "the progenitors" [*A'di purisá*], of the Pulindás (Veddás).

I am, moreover, in a position to add that the tradition that the Veddás are the descendants of Kuvéni's children by Vijayo, is still current in some parts of the Kandyan country. In 1879, when I visited the Ratnapura and U'va Districts to inspect Temple Libraries, I made it a point to collect information about the Veddás, whenever an opportunity occurred. When at Pelmaḍulla Viháre, I enquired from the incumbent, Induruwé Piyadassi Unnánsé, whether he knew anything about the origin of the Veddás, and, to my surprise, he said at once that the tradition is *that they are descendants of Kuvéni's children by Vijayo*. On my enquiry, whether he had read the passage in the Maháwaṇso which forms the subject of this note, he replied he had never seen it, but that his information was derived from a Sinhalese work on the Veddás, which he had seen long ago in the possession of a native. He added that, according to that work, the Veddás first settled in Sabaragamuwa, and hence the name for the district from *Sabara* 'a Veddá,' and *gamuwa* 'a Village,' in strict conformity with the tradition, recorded in the Maháwaṇso, that Kuvéni's children settled themselves in the country near Samantakûṭa mountain (Adam's Peak), and became "numerous by their sons and daughters."<sup>3</sup> I made every possible endeavour, both at Ratnapura and Badulla, to trace the work referred to, but unfortunately without success.

When at Badulla, a low-country Sinhalese man, who had travelled much in Bintenna, and from whom I collected information about the Veddás, their songs, charms, &c., also stated the tradition current in Bintenna is 'that the Veddás are descendants of Kuvéni's children.' He further informed me that the Veddás themselves claim to be descendants of royalty,

and considered the Sinhalese, whom they call '*Hingalu*,' to be an inferior race.<sup>4</sup>

### VEDDA' SONGS.\*

#### No. 1.

උඩ කඩානේ මල් පිපි  
පල්ලේ කඩානේට වැටීන්  
පල්ලේ කඩානේ මල් පිපි  
උඩ කඩානේට වැටීගේ

උඩ නාවින්නේ නාමල් පිපි  
පල්ලේ නාවින්නට වැටීගේ  
පල්ලේ නාවින්නේ නාමල් පිපි  
උඩ නාවින්නට වැටීගේ

Uḍa kaḍāné mal pipí  
Pallé kaḍānéta veṭīn  
Pallé kaḍāné mal pipí  
Uḍa kaḍānéta veṭígó

Uḍa ná vinné ná mal pipí  
Pallé ná vinnata veṭígó  
Pallé ná vinné ná mal pipí  
Uḍa ná vinnata veṭígó

Flowers blossom in the upper thicket,  
They fall into the lower thicket:  
Flowers blossom in the lower thicket,  
They fall into the upper thicket.  
*Ná*† flowers blossom in the upper *ná* forest,  
They fall into the lower *ná* forest:  
*Ná* flowers blossom in the lower *ná* forest,  
They fall into the upper *ná* forest.

#### No. 2.

මාමිණි මාමිණි මා දෙය්සා  
මාමිණි මාමිණි මා දෙය්සා  
කාබෙන් පාබල යක් ගම වේ  
කාබෙන් පාබල යක් ගම වේ  
යමු දෙන්නා  
යමු දෙන්නා

බිමෙන් යන්නට බොල්පිනි බැරිනම්  
වඩනා මිමා උතු බැදගත්  
මිමා පිටෙන් යමු දෙන්නා  
ගෝබිදු කැල්ලේ යමු දෙන්නා  
ගෝසා පුව්වා කමු දෙන්නා  
ගෝ වොඹු පුව්වා කමු දෙන්නා  
ගෝ කුර පුව්වා කමු දෙන්නා  
ගෝ බඩවැල් ටික නට දෙකැකු  
ගෝ අකුමා ටික ම. කකුකු

Māmiṇi māmiṇi mā deyyā  
Māmiṇi māmiṇi mā deyyā  
Kāben pābala yak gama vé  
Kāben pābala yak gama vé  
Yamu dennā  
Yamu dennā.

Bimen yannata bolpini berinam  
Vaḍanā mīmā lanu bendagan  
Mīmā piṭen yamu dennā  
Góbindu kelé yamu dennā  
Góyā puchchá kamu dennā  
Gó ṭombu puchchá kamu dennā  
Gó kura puchchá kamu dennā  
Gó baḍavel ṭika tāta deññā  
Gó akumā ṭika maṇ kaññā

\* Each line of the songs should be repeated twice, and the vowels lengthened or shortened in pronunciation according to the exigencies of the metre.

† යා [*ná*].—Ironwood tree (*Mesua ferrea*, L.)

වැල්කොබ්බා වැල දුන්න නමාගන  
එන්නේ ඔලගල මාලොකුවෝ  
එන්නේ ඔලගල මාලොකුවෝ  
අඟර නැටුම් නටන නන්ඳිට  
රුබර බෙරපද ගාමාපෝ  
රුබර නැටුම් නටාපෝ  
වල් අත්තෙන් නටාපෝ  
වොද වොද නැටුන් නටාපෝ  
අපටන් වෙන්වීල බෙදාපෝ  
ගොල්ලන් බොසෙම ඉදින්නන්  
වල්ලන් කරකා නටාපන්  
මෙන්තට ආවා බොල දෙය්යෝ

හං තදිනානේ තදිනානේ  
හං තදිනානේ තදිනානේ

O great man ! O great god ! \*

O great man ! O great god !

\* \* \* \* \*

\* \* \* \* \*

Let us two go.

Let us two go.

If we cannot walk over the ground on account of the mist

Tie *Vaḍanā*, the buffalo, with a string; † (*lit. dew*),

Let us two ride on the back of the buffalo.

Let us two go into the iguana-abounding jungle.

Let us two roast and eat the iguana : 5

Let us two roast and eat the iguana's tail:

Let us two roast and eat the iguana's legs (*lit. hoofs*):

I will give thee the iguana's entrails:

I will eat the iguana's liver.

It is *Má Lokuwó* of *Olagala* who is coming,

Bending a *velkobbá* creeper into a bow ! 6

Play fine tunes on the tom-tom,

For the sister who dances graceful dances.

Dance choice dances :

Dance with the bundle of leaves:

Dance fine, fine dances.

Give us also betel § leaves.

Lo ! many people around !

Dance twirling the bunch of leaves !

Fellow ! The gods have come hither !

*Taṇ tadináné tadináné*

*Taṇ tadináné tadináné.*

\* මාමිණි [*mámiṇi*] Bailey translates "my gem."

† I can offer no reasonable translation of these lines.

‡ වඩනා මිමා [*vaḍanā mīmā*].—Perhaps "the coming buffalo."

§ වෙත්තිල [*vettīla*].—This is the only Tamil word I have found in these songs, &c.

## No. 3.

මාමිණි මාමිණි මා දෙය්‍යා  
 මාමිණි මාමිණි මා දෙය්‍යා  
 තාරවෙල්පිට කෝබෙයිසෝ  
 තාරවෙල්පිට කෝබෙයිසෝ  
 කුටුරු කුටුරු කියන්නන්  
 කුටුරු කුටුරු කියන්නන්  
 හුම්බේ හුම්බේ හුම්බේ හුම්බේ

තානිනි තානිනි තානානේ  
 තානිනි තානිනි තානානේ

Māmiṇi māmiṇi mā deyyā  
 Māmiṇi māmiṇi mā deyyā  
 Tārāvelpiṭa kōbeyiyō  
 Tārāvelpiṭa kōbeyiyō  
 Kuṭuruṇ kuṭuruṇ kiyannan  
 Kuṭuruṇ kuṭuruṇ kiyannan  
 Humbē humbē humbē humbē.

Tānini tānini tānāné  
 Tānini tānini tānāné

O great man ! O great god !  
 O great man ! O great god !  
 The wood pigeons of Tārāvelpiṭa,  
 The wood pigeons of Tārāvelpiṭa,  
 Sing *kuṭuruṇ, kuṭuruṇ* !  
 Sing *kuṭuruṇ, kuṭuruṇ* !  
*Humbē,—humbē,—humbē,—humbē.*  
*Tānini tānini tānāné,*  
*Tānini tānini tānāné.*

## No. 4.\*

මාමිණි මාමිණි මා දෙය්‍යා  
 මාමිණි මාමිණි මා දෙය්‍යා  
 මම වොද බඩුවක් දැක ගත්තෙමි

මොකද මොකද කිරිනැනේ  
 ඒමම කියන බඩුවක් තේවෙය්  
 පල්ලේ තලාවේ තිබිබා  
 මටත් කියපත් රන් කුරු නැනේ  
 නංගි දුම්බොන දුම් කුඩික්කිය  
 බොල නැනේ

Māmiṇi māmiṇi mā deyyā  
 Māmiṇi māmiṇi mā deyyā  
 Mam chonda baḍuvak deka  
 [gatterem  
 Mokade mokade kirinéné  
 E'mma kiyana baḍuvak névey  
 Pallé talávē tibbā  
 Maṭat kiyāpan ran kuru néné  
 Nangī dum bona dum kuḍikkiya  
 [bola néné

O great man ! O great god !  
 O great man ! O great god !  
 "I have found a fine prize !"  
 "What is it, what is it, (my) milk (dear) cousin?"  
 "It is not a thing so easy to tell,  
 "It was found on the lower plain !"  
 "Tell me too, my golden little cousin."  
 "O dear cousin, it is the smoking pipe of my sister !"

\* Originally published by Mr. De Zoysa in the "Ceylon Observer" (October 16th, 1875), to refute the supposition that the Veddās never smoke.—*Hon. Sec.*

## No. 5.

මාමිණි මාමිණි මා දෙය්සා  
 මාමිණි මාමිණි මා දෙය්සා  
 දෙමටන් වල්ලේ බැඳි විසනස්  
 නා කොල වල්ලේ බැඳි විසනස්  
 බෝ කොල වල්ලේ බැඳි විසනස්  
 නංගිට බැඳපු මල් විසනස්  
 නංගිට බැඳපු මල් විසනස්  
 නංගිට බැඳපු මල් විසනස්  
 මලුන් කඩා වැටෙන්නා  
 නාරවෙල්පිට යක්ගමමල්  
 අපටන් කියාලත් නටන්නෝ  
 මාමිය කොට්ටි පෙනි කනවේ  
 කොටා කන්ටස් අපි ආවේ

තෙත්දිනානේ තෙත්දිනානේ  
 තෙත්දිනානේ තෙත්දිනානේ

Māmiṇi māmiṇi mā deyyā  
 Māmiṇi māmiṇi mā deyyā  
 Demaṭan vallé bēdi viyanay  
 Nā kola vallé bēdi viyanay  
 Bó kola vallé bēdi viyanay  
 Nangīṭa bēdapu mal viyanay  
 Nangīṭa bēdapu mal viyanay  
 Nangīṭa bēdapu mal viyané  
 Malut kaḍā veṭennā  
 Tārāvelpiṭa yakgammal  
 Apaṭat kiyaḷay naṭanné  
 Māmiya koṭé peti kanavé  
 Koṭā kaṇṭay api ávé

Tendináné tendináné  
 Tendináné tendináné.

O great man ! O great god ! O great man ! O great god !

A canopy hung with bundles of *demata*\* flowers :

A canopy hung with bunches of *nā* leaves :

A canopy hung with bunches of *Bó*\* leaves :

A canopy stretched for the sister :

A canopy stretched for the sister.

See ! from the flower-canopy raised to the sister flowers break  
 and fall.

The devil-dancers of Tārāvelpiṭa !

Tell us too before dancing ;

To take *kanavé*† (bee) hives in the *māmiya* stump we have come.

*Tendináné tendináné,*

*Tendináné tendináné.*

## No. 6.

වැල්කොබ්බා වැල දුන්න නමාන න Vēlkobbā vēla dunna namāga na  
 මොරියන් කෙච්ඡක් කර වතුරගන Morīyan kechchak kara vaturāgana  
 වැල් ඉච්ඡායියා පිටට දමාන න Vēl ichakeyiyā piṭaṭa damāga na  
 දොනි කෙල්ලක් ඉච්චර කරන න Dōni kellaḥ ichchara karaga na  
 එන්ඩම් මගෙ පුන කිරිබා න Enḍaḷu mage puta kiri bē ná

Bending a *vēlkobbā* creeper into a bow,

Hanging an arrow on the shoulder,

Letting the creeper-like hair fall on the back,

Leading in front a little girl of a daughter,

You are told to come, my son, my milk (dear) nephew.

\* දෙමට [*demata*].—A plant with yellow flowers (*Gmelina Asiatica*, L.).

බෝ [*bó*].—*Ficus religiosa*.

† කනවේ [*kanavé*].—A species of Ceylon bee.

## SONGS OF THE VEDDA'S OF SORABORAVEVA.

## No. 7.

සොරබොර වැවේ සොඳ සොඳ මව නෙවමි ඇ	නි
ච්චා නෙලන්නට සොඳ සොඳ ලියෝ එ	නි
කඵකරලා සුදුකරලා උසා දෙ	නි
මව සාලේ බත් කන්නට මව නැ	නි

Sorabora vevé sonda sonda oļu nelum e	tí
Míwá nelannaṭa sonda sonda liyó e	tí
Kaļu karalá hudu karalá uyá de	tí
Oļu sálé bat kannāṭa máļu ne	tí

Fine, fine water-lilies and lotuses grow in Sorabora tank !  
 These to gather come fine, fine women.  
 They make them into black and white curries;  
 To eat the water-lily-seed rice there are no curries.

## No. 8.

මබන් මබන් මබ සොරබොර වැව	නෝ
අඬා දියදවන මාවැලිගා	නෝ
දිය නොසිඳෙයි මබ මාවැලිගා	නෝ
නිල් මල් බිසව් දිය කෙළිගා වැව	නෝ

Obat obat oba Sorabora vevá	nó
Aṇḍá diya davana Máveligangá	nó
Diya nosindeyi oba Máveligangá	nó
Nil mal bisav diya keḷiná vevá	nó

Yonder, yonder spreads the Sorabora tank !  
 O ! Máveliganga whose waters cry as they run !  
 O ! Máveliganga thy waters never fail !  
 O ! tank in whose waters sports the queen of blue flowers !

## VEDDA' CHARMS.

## No. 1.

අලියාට.	<i>For an Elephant.</i> <sup>7</sup>
ඉව්ව වල්ලස්	Ichchata vallyay
පව්ව වල්ලස්	Pachchata vallyay
දැල දෙවල්ලස්	Dēla devallyay
සිටු අප්පා සිටු.	Siṭu appá siṭu

A hanging member in front—(trunk)  
 A hanging member behind—(tail)  
 On two sides two hanging members—(the two ears)  
 Stay, beast, stay !



## No. 2.

වල්මිමාව.

ඉරි දෙයියන්ගේ ඔක්මා  
සඳ දෙයියන්ගේ ඔක්මා  
පසේ බුදුන්ගේ ඔක්මා  
සිටු ඔක්මා සිටු

*For a wild Buffalo.\**

Iri deyyanné okmá  
Sanda deyyanné okmá  
Pasé Budunné okmá  
Siṭu okmá siṭu

*Okmá of the Sun-god !**Okmá of the Moon-god !**Okmá of the Pasé Budu !**Stay, Okmá, stay !*

## No. 3.

මාමිණි මාමිණි මා දෙයියා  
මාමිණි මාමිණි මා දෙයියා  
ගෝයා පුච්චා කැ කැනදි  
චුලගක් වන්ගේ  
චුලගක් වන්ගේ  
මිමින්නා පුච්චා කැ කැනදි  
චුලගක් වන්ගේ  
ගෝනා පුච්චා කැ කැනදි  
චුලගක් වන්ගේ  
අඩි අල්ලා නඩි අල්ලා පණ රල්ලා

Mámiṇi mámiṇi má deyyá  
Mámiṇi mámiṇi má deyyá  
Góyá puchchá ké ṭenadī  
Chulangak vanné  
Chulangak vanné  
Míminuá puchchá ké tenadī  
Chulangak vanné  
Góná puchchá ké ṭenadī  
Chulangak vanné  
Aḍi allá naḍi allá paṇa rallá

*O great man ! O great god ! O great man ! O great god !**Where the iguana was roasted and eaten, a wind blew ! a wind blew !**Where the moose-deer\* was roasted and eaten, a wind blew !**Where the elk was roasted and eaten, a wind blew !**Aḍi allá naḍi allá paṇa rallá.*

## No. 4.

එක කොඳේ චුනියම්  
ඉර මඩලේ චුනියම්  
එතන බැලිම් චුනියම්  
එතනත් නැත චුනියම්

එක කොඳේ චුනියම්  
වද මඩලේ චුනියම්  
එතන බැලිම් චුනියම්  
එතනත් නැත චුනියම්

එක කොඳේ චුනියම්  
ලිග්ගෙඩි මුල චුනියම්  
එතන බැලිම් චුනියම්  
එතනත් නැත චුනියම්

E'ka kodé chúníyam  
Ira maḍalé chúníyam  
Etana beḷimi chúníyam  
Etanat neṭa chúníyam

E'ka kodé chúníyam  
Chanda maḍalé chúníyam  
Etana beḷimi chúníyam  
Etanat neṭa chúníyam

E'ka kodé chúníyam  
Liggeḍi mula chúníyam  
Etana beḷimi chúníyam  
Etanat neṭa chúníyam

\* *Moschus meminna.*

Where is the *hūniyam*?\*  
Is it in the orb of the Sun?  
I have looked for it there;  
It is not there.

Where is the *hūniyam*?  
Is it in the orb of the Moon?  
I have looked for it there;  
It is not there.

Where is the *hūniyam*?  
Is it at the fire-place?  
I have looked for it there;  
It is not there.

### No. 5.

ඕන්නමෝ වන්මුදෙ එදේවේ ඉනුන් එපිට දේවේ රන්වන් පොකුණේ  
වාවන්කානේ කරණ රන්වන් ආදායේ බිඬ වරලෙසි අදන් කෝ මේ ගෙණ  
කුට්ටම බිදින්නේ.

ඕන්නමෝ එකර එදේවේ මල්ලවදේවේ මානිල්මල් විලේ වාවන්කානේ  
කරණිණවු නව කෙල නව කෝපියක් කඩවර වැදි වේනාව කඵ වැද්ද ගොඵ  
වැද්ද කපුඵ වැද්ද රන්පුනු වැද්ද කෙටේරිගන් වැද්ද ලග්ගලේ වැද්ද  
ලොග්ගලේ වැද්ද ජ්ජයගලේ වැද්ද උරගලේ වැද්ද මරගල වැද්ද ද  
හෙසියාගලේ වැද්ද කුඹුහුගලේ වැද්ද බෝපන්කලාවේ වැද්ද උනුනුගලේ  
වැද්ද පන්තේරුගලේ වැද්ද බවුද්දගලේ වැද්ද අතුකොලවැද්ද පිටකොල  
වද්දැ ශ්‍ර මාගම වැද්ද මෙකි නොකි වැද්දවේනාවගෙන් මෙකි ආතුර පන්  
දවිකන්දෙට දුරබැලුමකදි ලගබැලුමකදි ඇල්ලකදි පිවිල්ලකදි මව්මන්ඩිය  
කදි ලේමන්ඩියකදි රනිකෙලියකදි දියකෙලියකදි අඩගෝවාමකදි දුරබැල්  
මක් ලගබැල්මක් එලා විටියා නම් අදන් මම කැප කර දෙන රන්මණි  
කුකුලා දෙලපිද බිලිකැපදි දිජ්විඅරගණ ආතුර පන්දවිකන්දෙට වනිප  
වන්තෝව කරදෙන්න මෙකි කඩවර හැටහතර කට්ටුවගෙන් වරම්. ගුනවිල්  
බන්ද බන්ද එව්වා.

O'n namó chat múde edéché inut epīṭa déché ranvan pokuṇé  
váchattáné karaṇa ranvan ándágé baḍa varaleyi adat tó mé gejjā  
kúṭṭama bandinné.

O'n namó ekara edéché Mallavadéché mánilmal vilé váchattáné  
karannávú nava keḷa nava kóṭiyak Kadavara Vēdi chénáva Kaḷu  
Vēddā Goḷu Vēddā Kapuḷu Vēddā Randunu Vēddā Ketérigat  
Vēddā Laggalé Vēddā Loggalé Vēddā Iriyagalé Vēddā U'rágalé  
Vēddā Marangala Vēddā Dáheyiyágalé Vēddā Kumbuhugalé  
Vēddā Bópattaláwé Vēddā Ununugalé Vēddā Pantérugalé Vēddā

\* චුනියම් [*chūniyam*] (S. සුනියම් [*suniyam*])—‘spell’ or ‘incantation.’

Bavuddagalé Veddá Atukola Veddá Piṭakola Veddá Rúṇu Mágama Veddá mekí nokí Vēdi chénávagen mekí áturapandach kandēta durabēlumakadí langa bēlumakadí ēllakadí pichillakadí mach-mandīyakadí lémandīyakadí ratikelīyakadí diyakēliyakadí anda-góchāvakadí dura bēlmak langa bēlmak elá chītiyá nam adat mama kēpa kara dena ran miṇi kukulá dola pida bili kēpadí dishti aragaṇa átura paudach kandēta chanípa chantócha kara denna mekí Kaḍavara hētahatara kaṭṭuvagen varami. Gunachíl banda banda échchá.

*O'm! namó!* Thou tiest to-day, this *gejjakúttama*,\* in the fins of the golden eel who lives in the golden pond in the country beyond the seven seas, and in the country even beyond it!

*O'm! namó!* A host of Kaḍavara Veddás in number nine millions, and nine millions who reside in the water-lily pond, in the country of Mallava, in the country beyond the sea! Also black Veddá, dumb Veddá, Kapulu Veddá, Veddá of the golden bow, Veddá armed with an axe, Veddá of Laggala, Veddá of Loggala, Veddá of Iriyagala, Veddá of Úrágala, Veddá of Marangala, Veddá of Dáheiyágala, Veddá of Kumbuhugala, Veddá of Bópattaláva, Veddá of Ununugala, Veddá of Pantérugala. Veddá of Bavuddagala, Atukola Veddá, Piṭakola Veddá, Veddá of Rúna and Mágama!

If this host of Veddás, named and unnamed, had cast a distant or near look on the body of the patient, from a distant or near point of view, at a stream, at a waterfall, at a place of flesh, at the shambles, whilst sporting in love, whilst sporting in water, at a place of noisy tumult,—it is the wish of the sixty-four legions of Kaḍavara (Veddás) that you should accept this excellent fowl (*lit.* golden gem fowl), which I dedicate to you as an offering and victim, and restore the patient to health and joy. *Gunachíl banda banda échchá.*<sup>9</sup>

## VEDDÁ' LULLABIES.

### No. 1.

උයන් කොළේ පුනා ල	Uyan kolé puná	lá
පහ අත්තෙන් වහා ල	Pana atten vachá	lá
වදුරු කුලලේ කවා ල	Vanduru kulal kaválá	
නිදි වෙරන් පුනා ල	Nidí varen putá	lá

Having lulled (thee) to rest on the *uyan* leaf,  
 Having covered (thee) with a branch of *pana* (leaves),  
 Having fed (thee) on monkey's flesh (*lit.* neck),  
 Come and sleep (my) son!

\* ගෙජ්ජකුට්ටම [*gejjakúttama*]. A pair of small tinkling ornaments worn by dancers.

## No. 2.

වදුර ගව උඩ ලියදල කද්	දී	Vandurá gacha uḍa liyadalu kad dí
වැදිරි ගව මුල කදල පෙරද්	දී	Vendirí gacha mula kandulu perad dí
ඇගේ දරුවෝ කොල් නටද්	දී	E'gé daruvó kolé naṭad dí
උඩක්කි කන්පොතු දිගේ බබද්දී		Uḍakki kanpotu diyé obad dí

What time the male monkey eats the tender leaves on the tree,  
 What time the female monkey sheds tears at the foot of the tree,  
 While her young ones dance on the leaves,  
 And dip their *uḍakki*-shaped ears in the water.

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 NOTES.

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 No. 1.

“The following is a literal translation of the same passage, in the copy of the *Maháwaṇso*, in the Asgiri Vihára in Kandy :—  
 ‘They repaired to the rock Samanta kúṭa ; and, being permitted by King Vijayo to dwell there, they became man and wife, and had children and grandchildren. Thus, a wansaya (race) sprung up, called Pulinda.’”—*J. B.*

## No. 2.

“*Vide* note at page 185 of Wilson’s Vishnu Puráṇa. ‘*Pulinda* is applied to any wild or barbarous tribe; and they are met with in the deserts along the Indus, the mountains and forests across Central India.’”—*J. B.*

## No. 3.

“I have made careful inquiries, both in these [Rayigam and Pasdun] Kóralés and the district of Saffragam, and though traces of their former existence there are evident and numerous, there is every reason to believe that many centuries have passed since they were there. Fields, villages, and families yet retain the name of Vēddás, as *Vēdi-paṅgu*, *Vēdde-kumbura*, *Vēdde-watta*, *Vēdde-ēla*, *Vēdde-gala*, *Vēdde-gé*, &c., in the district of Saffragam, which is the country at the foot of Adam’s Peak, and in the Rayigam Kóralé.

Indeed, Saffragam or *Habaragamuwa* means ‘the district of Vēddās’ or ‘barbarous people’; and in this form of the word the former existence of Vēddās can again be traced as *Habara-goḍa*, *Habara-kaduwa*, &c. It is traditional throughout Saffragam that once Vēddās predominated over Siṅhalese in that district, and that, as the latter gained ground, the former withdrew towards Bintenna and Wellassa. But Mr. Macready, of the Civil Service, has given me very important proof of the existence of Vēddās near the Samanta mountains. He has given me the translation of some stanzas from a Siṅhalese poem, written about 400 years ago, called the *Paravi-sandēṣaya*, or ‘the Dove’s message.’\* The poem treats of a message sent, by means of a dove, from Kótté (near Colombo) to Vishnu at Dondra, at the extreme south of the Island. The dove takes its course exactly over the districts lying below Adam’s Peak. The poet addresses the dove, and tells her she will see [at Potupitiya] ‘the daughters of the Vēddās’ clothed in *riṭi*† bark, their hair adorned with peacock’s plumes. So wild are they that the poet describes the herds of deer as being startled at the sight of them.”—*J. B.*

[The following are the stanzas referred to, with a translation :—

න ලා අවුඵ හැර රිටි සුඹුඵ ඇඳෑ නි	නි
ද ලා වෙමින් ලුහිරියෙල් නිලක ඇ	නි
වෙ ලා වරල සිකිපිල් සහ මල් කැණ	නි
ලොලා සහෙන බල මලකිදු එවන පෙ	නි
එ ව න සබර සෙන් දැකෑ මරිකි මුවග	න
ලෙව න පඵරෙසින් කනවැනි ලවන ව	න
ග ම න පැරැදෑ හසහන පිවිසි විල්ව	න
කෙවින හඬනවැනි සෙමෙලන් වරලව	න

“ See the lovely daughters of the Vēddās (*Malakidu*) passing to and fro through the forest tracts, constantly clothed with *riṭi* bark beaten out and prepared (*lit.* disentagled), gay (*lit.* shining) with yellow *tilaka* (mark) on their foreheads, entwining their hair with peacock plumes and clusters of flowers.

\* *Paravi-sandēṣaya* [පරවිසන්දෙශය]. Stanzas 55, 56, Colombo, 1873.

† *Riṭi* [රිටි]. *Antiaris innoxia* or *A. saccadora*.

“The herd of deer, startled at the sight of the crowd of Vēddās (*Sabara sen*) in that forest, seem to eat the blood-like tender buds in anger as resembling their (Vēddās’) lips; the female swan enters the forest tank o’ercome by their (speed of) movement; the pea-hen seems to cry (as if complaining that) their locks are blue.”\*—*H. C. P. B., Hon. Sec.*]

## No. 4.

“The bare assertion by a naked savage in the rudest state of barbarism, that he is the descendant of Kings, seems, at first, a sheer a’ surdity, though it naturally suggests the inquiry how the claim to so ambitious an origin could have arisen, and, having arisen, how it should be so pertinaciously adhered to by tribes unknown to each other.

“The custom which sanctions such revolting marriages [between brothers and younger sisters] seems, at first sight, simply a proof of the extreme depth of barbarism to which the race has sunk. But when we consider the tradition in connection with the fact that *the Sinhalese invariably admit the Vēddās to be of the highest caste, while they in turn affect to look down upon the Sinhalese*; and when we regard the custom in connection with the story of the marriage of the son and daughter of Vijayo, himself the offspring of a similar connection; when we read the legend of their flight from both father’s and mother’s kindred to the forests, where, resuming the wild life of their maternal ancestors, they founded a wild race; when we find even yet the district which tradition gives as their refuge, still called by a name indicative of their former existence in it, and still abounding with traces of them—though not a Vēddā can be remembered there; and when we can trace among the Vēddās of the present day the remains of Bráhmaism—Vijayo’s creed—intermingled with the Nát worship, practised by Kuvéni’s nation; and when there are still in use among them names of Sanskrit affinity, common in India, though, rare among themselves, unknown in Ceylon;

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\* *I. e.*, that she has been robbed of the blueness of her own plumage by the peacock’s feathers tied up with their hair.

it is impossible to resist the conclusion that the wild tribes of the Veddás are not the mere remnants of the untamed aborigines, but the descendants of the ill-fated Kuvéni and the faithless Vijayo; that they are indeed, as they profess themselves, ‘the descendants of Kings.’”—*J. B.*

“The Kandians universally agree that they [Veddás] all belong to the royal caste, and it is said that they used to address the king by the now obsolete title ‘*Húrá,*’ or ‘cousin,’ the term which they applied to myself in conversation.”\*—*B. F. H.*

## No. 5.

“The Veddás eat the flesh of elk, deer, *monkeys*, pigs, *iguano*, and pangolin—all flesh indeed but that of oxen, elephants, bears, leopards, and jackals; and all birds, except the wild or domestic fowl. They will not touch lizards, bats or snakes. The most choice food in their estimation is, of land animals, the flesh of the pangolin, or of the *iguano*.”—*J. B.*

## No. 6.

“They principally use [for their bows] the wood of *dunumaḍala* (*Sterospermum chelonoides*), the *kekala* (*Cyathocalyx Zeylanicus*), and a creeper called *kobbá vėl*, or the *pandéro* tree. The strings, which are exceedingly strong, are twisted chiefly of the fibre of the *niyada* (*Sansevieria Zeylanica*), and the bark of a creeper called *aralu-vėl*.”—*J. B.*

## No. 7.

“They have a great dread of meeting elephants at night, and have charms to protect them from them—not only to turn them from their path, but to render innoxious the bear, the leopard, and the wild boar.”—*J. B.*

## No. 8.

“In their charms the sun and moon are frequently invoked, although in their daily life neither luminary is respected.”—*J. B.*

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\* *Hurá massiná* [හුර මසසිනා] is still a common familiar expression among the Singhalese.—*Hon. Sec.*

There is a similar charm used even by the low-country Singhalese in cases of tooth-ache. It is as follows :—

ඉරි දෙසියන්ගේ	ඇයා
සඳු දෙසියන්ගේ	ඇයා
පසේ බුදුන්ගේ	ඇයා
දගේ නොසිටු දත්	ඇයා

Iri deyianné	éyá
Sanda deyianné	éyá
Pasé Budunné	éyá
Daté nosiṭu dat	éyá

Worm of the sun-god !

Worm of the moon-god !

Worm of the Pasé Budu !

Stay not in the tooth, O tooth-worm !—*L. De Z.*

[This charm (No. 2) and the almost identical one known to the Singhalese are given by Mr. Bailey :—

“It not only invokes the sun and moon, but Pasé Budu—the only single allusion to Buddhism among them ; but the very meaning of this and other charms is unknown to the Vēddás. They are repeated by rote ; they do not pause to understand them, and could not if they would. It is enough for them, as for most Oriental people, that a particular formula is to serve a particular purpose. These [charms] are identical ; yet the Vēddás and the Singhalese certainly do not associate so closely as to borrow one another’s charms. Have they descended in each race since the time they were one ? The term *okmá* I can get no satisfactory explanation of. It is not Singhalese certainly. I assume it means ‘wild boar,’ as this is the charm to arrest a boar in the path ; but it is not the term used by the Vēddás for a boar in ordinary conversation. The allusion to the Pasé, or Paché, Buddha, is curious as occurring in both ; the one people being anything but Buddhists, while Buddhism is the religion of the others. As Gautama Buddha visited Ceylon long anterior to the final establishment of Buddhism in Ceylon, and descended in Bintenna, may not this solitary allusion to the religion have been handed down in this form among the Vēddás from a period even before the invasion by Vijayo ? In the form of a charm which is repeated by rote, such an allusion would be most naturally retained.



So far as having any Buddhist tendencies, they do not even show the slightest outward respect in the presence of a Buddhist priest. The other Vēddā charms are, I believe, quite unlike those of the Sinhalese.”—*Hon. Sec.*]

## No. 9.

I have found this *mantra* or charm in a collection of Vēddā songs and charms I procured at Badulla. The use in it, however, of a Hindú-religious term, and the corrupted form of a Buddhist metaphysical term, may raise a doubt whether this charm be a genuine Vēddā production or not.

The Hindú term alluded to is *O'm namó!*—‘Salutation to the triune deity!’ The following is the explanation given of this term by Wilson in his Sanskrit Dictionary :—

‘*O'm*.—The mystic name of the deity, prefacing all the prayers and most of the writings of the Hindus : A., a name of Vishṇu, U., of Śiva, and M. of Bráhma. It therefore implies the Indian *triad*, and expresses *the three in one*.’ The Buddhist term is ජන්දච්ඡන්දෙ [ *chhandachhkande* ], which is a corruption of the Sinhalese word පන්දස් ඡන්දෙ [ *pandaskande* ], which again is corrupted from the Sanskrit or Sinhalese word පඤ්චස්කන්ධ [ *pañchaskandha* ], ‘the five constituent parts of the human body.’ These terms may have been interpolated by the village Vēddás, or more probably by their neighbours, the Kandyan Sinhalese, but the contents of the charm are peculiarly *Vedic*—if I may use the term—and the interesting information it gives of the seats or localities of the various Vēddā demons or chieftains throughout the Island is unique, and is not now procurable from any other source.

The *mantra* also seems to afford information which may possibly enable us to settle a long-disputed point in the early history of Ceylon, namely, as to whence the aborigines (Yakkhos or demons of the Maháwaṇso, who are doubtless the ancestors of the Vēddás) came to Ceylon.

It will be seen that the Vēddā demons are called here කඩවර මැදි චේතාව [ *Kaḍavara Vēdi chénáva* ]. I cannot find the meaning of the word *Kaḍavara*, but the expression shows that they are identical

with the Vēddās (*Vēddó*). It is well known that there is a tribe of demons called *Kaḍavara Yakku*, "Kaḍavara demons," to whom offerings are made in some parts of the Kandyan country. If the songs and prayers (*yāḍini* or *kannalav*), used by the Kaḍavara devil-dancers, are examined (which I have no means of doing at present), I have no doubt they will throw light on the early history of the Yakkhos, or Vēddās, and probably lead to very important ethnological results. Again, "nine millions, nine millions" (a vast number) of these *Kaḍavara* or *Vēdi* demons are said to reside in a "far distant land beyond the seas," in a country called *Mallava dēsa*, possibly a corruption of *Malaya dēsa*, the 'hilly country.'

Does not this show that the Vēddās of Ceylon have a faint tradition that their fatherland is the "hill country" of India?

I may here mention a curious legend related in the *Rājāvali* and *Kuvēni Asna* (a little work on the history of Kuvēni, in Sinhalese blank verse), which seems to have some connection with the history of the Vēddās. Paṇḍuvāsa (B. C. 504), nephew of Vijayo, and third in succession to him, became ill with a combination of diseases, "cough, asthma, fever, burning, rheumatism, &c.," the result of perjury committed by his uncle, Vijayo, who swore that he would not renounce Kuvēni, the aboriginal Princess whom he first married, but afterwards violated his oath, by repudiating her and marrying a princess from Southern India. When the King was afflicted with this disease, Sakra, King of the gods, (Indra of the Hindú mythology) ordered the Rāhu, the Asura (the ascending node) to assume the form of a wild boar, in size like a huge mountain, and devastate the pleasure garden of the King of *Malaya* (the hill-country in India), who was versed in all the arts of necromancy. When King Malaya saw the destruction of his pleasure garden, he pursued the boar with bow and arrow, accompanied by his three brothers and a retinue of archers or Vēddās, through the continent of India. The boar crossed over the sea near Tuticorin and made the circuit of the Island, followed by the King, and when it reached the vicinity of Anurādhapura, the boar was turned into a mountain! The King of gods then appeared to Malaya Rājā, and conducting him to King

Panduvās, got him to perform certain demon ceremonies, and restored the king to his wonted health.—*L. De Z.*

[Since writing the above I have seen some of the songs used by the Kaḍavara devil dancers, which not only confirm the identity of the Kaḍavara demons and the Vēddās, but also in a remarkable manner strengthen the opinion I have ventured to express, that the legend of the *Malaya* Rāja is connected with the history of the Vēddās. It is stated in these songs that *Malaya* Rājā on his visit to Ceylon was accompanied by 2,000 Vēddās, and when he performed the devil ceremonies for the King, 36 Vēddās stood around him assisting at the ceremonies.—*L. De Z.*]

“The result of the most patient enquiry is, that the Vēddās have a vague belief in a host of undefined spirits, whose influence is rather for good than for evil. Still, vague as this belief is, not even the wildest Vēddās are without ‘an instinct of worship.’ They believe that the air is peopled by spirits, that every rock and every tree, every forest and every hill—in short, every feature of nature—has its *genius loci*, but these seem little else than mere nameless phantoms, whom they regard rather with mysterious awe than actual dread. But besides this vague spirit-worship, they have a more definite superstition, in which there is more of system. This is the belief in the guardianship of the spirits of the dead. Every near relative becomes a spirit after death, who watches over the welfare of those who are left behind. These, which include their ancestors and their children, they term their *nehiya yakun*, ‘kindred spirits.’ They describe them as ‘ever watchful, coming to them in sickness, visiting them in dreams, giving them flesh when hunting.’ In short, in every calamity, in every want, they call on them for aid, and it is curious that the shades of their departed children, *bilindu yakun*, or ‘infant spirits,’ as they call them, are those which they appear most frequently to invoke.

“It is a pretty belief, and contrasts favourably with the superstitions of the Kandyans, who have spirits enough in their system, but almost all thoroughly malignant, and needing constant propitiation. But the Vēddā spirit-world is singularly free from evil. I can find only one *absolutely* malignant spirit in it, whom they really fear, though,

like all savages, they have an undefined awe of the nameless spirits whom they believe to haunt the darkness. The shades of their ancestors and of their children seem to be purely benevolent. The ceremonies with which they invoke them are few as they are simple. The most common is the following. An arrow is fixed upright in the ground, and the Vēddā dances slowly round it, chanting this invocation, which is almost musical in its rhythm :—

“ Má miya má miya má déyá  
Topang koyihēti miṭigan yaṇḍa.”

“ My departed one, my departed one, my God !  
Where art thou wandering ? ”

“ The spirit of the dead is here simply called upon, without even the object for which it is invoked being mentioned. And this invocation appears to be used on all occasions when the intervention of the guardian spirits is required,—in sickness, preparatory to hunting, &c.

“ Sometimes, in the latter case, a portion of the flesh of the game is promised as a votive offering in the event of the chase being successful, and they believe that the spirits will appear to them in dreams, and tell them where to hunt.

“ Sometimes they cook food and place it in the dry bed of a river, or some other secluded spot, and then call on their deceased ancestors by name : ‘ Come, and partake of this ! Give us maintenance as you did when living ! Come, wheresoever you may be ; on a tree, on a rock, in the forest, come ! ’ And they dance round the food, half chanting, half shouting, the invocation.....

“ They have no system of medicine, though they will accept medicine when given. In cases of sickness, they sprinkle water on the patient, invoking their deceased ancestors to heal him. Sometimes they simply utter the names of spirits as they dance round the sick man. Sometimes a garland of flowers is offered to the spirit who has afflicted him.

“ They invoke the *Gal-yaká*, ‘ spirit of the rock ’ ; *Vēdi-yaká*, ‘ spirit of the chase ’ ; *U’napána-yaká*, of whom I have no knowledge ;

and the shade of their grandmother. They also propitiate *Mahá-yakinní*, who appears rather an evil personage. It is to her that they offer a garland of flowers. They describe her as a 'foreigner' and say that they know nothing about her, but acquired their awe of her from the Sinhalese.

"The *Vēdi-yaká* is known to the Sinhalese; hunters offer flowers, blood, and burnt meat to this spirit, before hunting, to secure their success. *U'napána-yaká* is known to the Sinhalese of the *Vēdirāṭa*, but I do not think he is generally known to the Sinhalese.

"They believe in the efficacy of what are called devil-dancers, but are ignorant of the art of a *Kattāḍiya*, or devil-dancer."—*J. B.*

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## A HÚNIYAM IMAGE.

BY L. NELL, ESQ.

(Read July 6th, 1881.)

LONG residence amongst the native Sinhalese and careful observation of their superstitious practices and expressions of superstitious ideas lead to the conclusion that, amongst the lower castes, who have also hitherto been the most ignorant, Buddhism has not existed as a religion. The tom-tom beaters, the toddy-drawers, the jaggery-makers, have only lately attempted to build Buddhist temples of their own. The Amara-pura sect of Buddhists is a modern importation to satisfy the social ambition of the *Mahabaddé* people, candidates of whose community for priestly ordination would have been refused by the previously existing Siamese sect. The latter, though heterodox in this exclusiveness, had confined the right of ordination to pupils drawn from the *Goyigama* caste.

The liberal and orthodox principle of the Amarapura sect extended in time from the *Mahabaddé* and *Karávé* to lower castes. As an instance, the jaggery people (*Vakumpura*) near Galle have built a temple, and their pupil-priests in yellow robes and with begging-bowls in their hands are now seen obtaining the food of mendicants from the hands of their own friends. The profound meditative air of the young mendicants, and the evident pride with which their friends give alms and honor the new priesthood are very striking. This is quite a reform, and Buddhism, perhaps for the first time, is subverting what other missions have not hitherto observed as a likely field of conversion. Before this reform the priests of the very low castes have been the *Yakadurás*, commonly called *Kattádiyás*, belonging to the tom-tom beater and *Oliya* castes. *Kapurálas* belong to all castes, and *Pattinis* also belong to all castes.

These remarks apply to the practice of *Kapurálas*. The priests undergo a training—which, if they have a good memory, is of not long duration—namely, the committing to memory of certain charms, invocations, and songs to be accompanied on the tom-tom, drum, and by violent dances. One must live in the neighbourhood of these devil-worshippers to appreciate the form of nuisance known as a ‘devil-ceremony.’ The tom-tom is beaten violently to accompany the discordant song, and the noises are very violent during the intervals of dancing. The family having the ceremony keep it up from sunset till past dawn the next morning. If any remonstrance is used with respect to such practices, they will excuse themselves on the ground that it is their “religion” or “faith.” But the *Yakadurás* are in no way respected for being priests, and their remuneration is very little.

Besides the performance of these devil-dances the *Yakadurás* practise *Húniyam* charms,\* by which harm—such as disease—is inflicted on one’s fellow-creatures. To counteract *Húniyam* charms counter-charms† are muttered over a cup of oil or a thread, and three limes are cut with an arecanut-cutter whilst charms are muttered.‡ The failure of such counter-charms strengthens the belief in the potency of the *Húniyam*. In most of these *Húniyam* charms a small image, made of wax or wood or drawn on a leaf, is necessary. Nails made of five metals§ (usually gold, silver, copper, tin, and lead) are driven

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\* “*Koḍivina* [කොඩිවින] or *Húniyam* [හුනියම්] is the name given to evils of whatever kind inflicted by the agency of charms.....There are said to be 84,000 [*Húniyam* charms] of every degree of malignity, most of which more or less contribute to bring to an untimely death the person affected by this influence, though that event may be deferred for many years. (C. A. S. Jour. 1865-6, p. 68.)—*Hon. Sec.*

† *Húniyam hepíma* [හුනියම් කෑපීම].

‡ C. A. S. Jour. 1865-6, pp. 70-1.

§ *Pas ló* [පස් ලෝ].

into the image at important parts of the body, such as the head or heart. These images, after the process of charming, are buried under a stile so that the intended victim may pass over it\* and be thus affected. This "passing over" of the buried image is generally indispensable. After the charms have taken effect, the image is otherwise secreted.\*

The image I now send was found in the trunk of a *Rukattana* tree.† An oblong hole corresponding in shape to the tin box holding the image had been neatly cut into the trunk of the tree in a direction S.S.W., and about two feet high from the ground. The box containing the image had been inserted inside this hole and a tin plate, covering the hole, neatly nailed over with copper nails.‡ It is of course absurd to suppose that this contrivance could have had any effect, but should the intended victim have met with an accident or stroke of disease, there would have been another instance of the potency of the *Húniyam*.

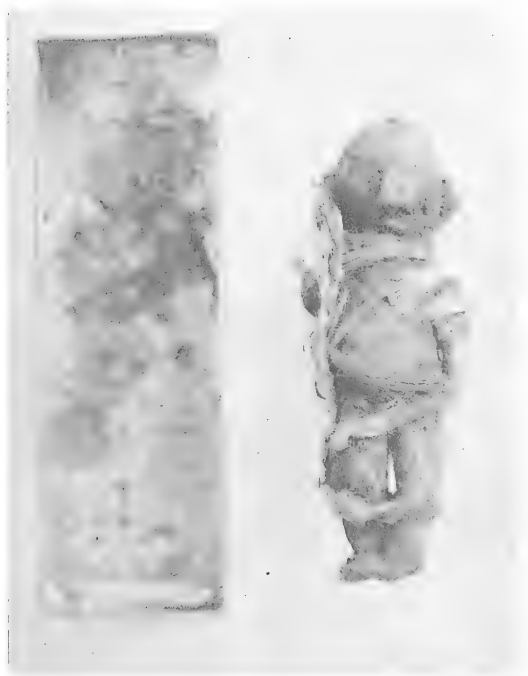
In the Society's Journal for 1865-66 will be found an exhaustive treatise on "Sinhalese Demonology" by Dandris De Silva, Mudaliyár. This short introductory sketch is only intended to introduce the *Húniyam* image now sent, which is interesting as a specimen of one which had been actually uttered with malicious intent. When discovered it had evidently been long imbedded in the tree, and unless the particular *Yakadurá* who performed the devil-ceremony in this instance will volunteer a confession, no further light will be thrown upon the subject.

\* *Pannavanavá* [පන්වනව]. C. A. S. Jour. 1865-6, p. 71.

† *Alstonia scholaris*, R. Br.

‡ The annexed plate gives an exact size photograph of the image by the side of its tin "coffin." Nails pierce the head, heart, right side, chest, and feet, and threads are wound round the body from the neck downward.—*Hon. Sec.*





A HU'NIYAM IMAGE.



It may be noted that the natives of the Máldives, though they have been converted to the Muhammadan faith, still continue to practise the same class of incantations as the lower classes of the Siphalese. This *Húniyam* image may therefore possibly have been made by a native of the Máldives, many of whom live near the neighbourhood where the image was discovered, though this is unlikely. This is one of the many points of resemblance between the low-country Siphalese and Máldivians.\*

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### NOTE.

[ The Máldive Islanders—particularly those living on the Southernmost Atols, Huvadú (Suvádiva) and Addú, which have been least affected by foreign influence—retain to this day the character of being “great necromancers,”† as old Duarte Barbosa (A. D. 1501–17) described them three and a half centuries ago, and as the captive Frenchman Pyrard found them a century later (A. D. 1602–7).‡

The difficulty all the world over of eradicating long-established customs and deeply-rooted beliefs—more especially when these enter into the exigencies of every-day life—is an accepted fact, confirmed by the experience of ages.

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\* At Mr. Nell's request a brief note is added with the intention of partially illustrating the similarity between the superstitious practices of the Siphalese and Máldivians. The subject may be more fully dealt with hereafter.—*H. C. P. B., Hon. Sec.*

† “As gentes dellas nao tem armas, e sao homens fracos, mas muito engenhosos, e sobre tudo grandes encantadores.”—*Noticias das Nações Ultramarinas*, Tomo. II., p. 352, Lisboa, 1812.

‡ “Les Mathematiques y sont enseignées, et ils en font aussi grand estat, notamment de l'Astrologie, à laquelle plusieurs personnes estudient, d'autant qu'à tout propos on consulte les Astrologes : il n'y en a pas vn qui voulust rien entreprendre sans leur en auoir demandé aduis.”—*Voyage de F. Pyrard*, p. 135, Paris, 1679.”

It need not, therefore, be a matter of surprise to find the rigorous monotheistic faith of Islám existing to this day side by side on the Máldive group with "the relics of idolatrous superstition,"—nay, more, to see the sacred Kurán itself prostituted to the unholy objects of devil worship.

The pilgrimage to Mekka and "the silly and ridiculous" ceremonies which have ever formed a necessary part of it, were but original threads of Arab idolatry, which expediency prompted the Prophet to interweave with his fabric of a purer religion.\*

Nearly all orthodox Muhammadans have an implicit belief in what is termed "Divine magic" (*Ar-Rahmání*), "the sublime science" employed only for good purposes, but sternly denounce the practice of enchantment (*As-Sahr*) and of "Satanic" (*Shaitání*) and "Natural magic" (*As-Símiyá*) in general. All forms alike are supposed to derive greater efficacy from interlarding the usual mysterious words, numbers, diagrams, &c., of charms, with names of the Deity and passages from the Kurán.†

The two following philtres or love charms‡ come under the Sanskrit category of *Stambhana* or of *Vibhishana*—those intended to procure illicit sexual intercourse and effect discord.§ The appropriate demons invoked by the Sîghalese are *Madana Yaksaniyó*, 'the She-Demons of Lust.' "These demons, when worked upon by certain charms, and propitiated with certain offerings and ceremonials, are supposed to use their power of seducing the affections of a man or a woman in such a manner that the person so influenced is said to find the power perfectly irresistible. There are hundreds of ways in which it is pretended this can be done."||

\* See Sale's Koran, Preliminary Discourse, p. 94 ("Chandos Classics" Edition), London.

† Lane's "Arabian Nights," Vol. I., pp. 58-9, London, 1877.

‡ The transcript in Roman characters of the Máldive (Addú Atol) charms and the rough glossary, given below, will further enable Sîghalese scholars to trace the philological connection between the two languages. Addú orthography differs considerably from the Málé (Sultan's Island) standard.

§ Dandris De Silva Guṇaratna, Mudaliyár, in Jour. C. A. S., 1865-6, pp. 53-4,

|| *Idem*, p. 31.

## MÁLDIVE MANTRAS.\*

## No. 1.

Gada istiri vari tura' kurákan haivakaru abaku de mihunge rúfa kurahai *hadduru harruḷi nuvá gihí badili elagoḍi* abu gahani.

*Translation.*

"To completely estrange a desirable woman (from her husband)—make a teak nail (and) an image of both persons, (mutter) '*hadduru harruḷi nuvá gihí badili elagoḍi*,' † and drive in the nail."

*Glossary.*

*Abaku, abu*, 'nail.' Cf. Malay *páku*.

*Istiri*, 'woman,' 'wife': S. *ස්ත්‍රී* [*strī*].

*Kurahai*, lit. 'having made,' = *kurafá* (Málé), p. part. of *kuraṇ*: S. *කරලා* [*karalá*].

*Kurákan*—See *tura'* *kurákan*.

*Gada*, lit. 'health': not improbably = S. *අගද* [*agada*] (*අ*, negative, *ගද* disease.)

*Gahani*, 'strike': S. *ගහනවා* [*gahanavá*].

*Tura'* (*kurákan*) 'to disunite': S. *තුරන් කරන්ඩ* [*turaṇ karaṇḍa*].

*De*, 'two,' 'both': S. *දෙ* [*de*].

*Mihunge*, gen. pl. of *mihá*; S. *මිනිසුන්ගේ* [*minisunge*], gen. pl. of *මිනිසා* [*minihá*] 'man.'

*Rúfa*, 'image': S. *රූප* [*rúpa*].

*Vari*, ? adv. 'greatly': S. *වැර* [*vera*]; but *vari kuraṇ* 'to divorce' (Málé).

*Haivakaru*, 'teak,' (*Tectona grandis*, L.). Cf. Hind. *ságaun*.

## No. 2.

Gada istiriye' liame karhi male' fari nuvanís kaḍágen au valie' hanulaigen mi malu effurhu *Al Kadr Súra* lie ane' furhumati *Vajahatu* lie mi malu rúfa kurahá váhaka vará oḷun lie *Al Rahmán Súra* huswáden lie' vá' rónu' fas tan bede rakas boḍe' katiláeige lein

\* "Sorcery" is with the Máldivians *faḍita*—S. *පාṇḍිත* [*paṇḍita*],—'the learned (science).'

† The *mantra* or incantation proper; unintelligible. All else is "a sort of rubric," as with Siphalese charms (*vide* C.A.S. Journ., 1865-6, p. 57), in which the object is stated, and directions given for the *jíwama*, or "winding up."

kaḷiko' dumarhí bávvai hikkai tin duvas vímái nagaigen gos múdu  
aḷani kakú fenu eḷi nama balai fonuvani fúlu fenu eḷi nama audei.

*Translation.*

“Write (the name of) a desirable woman; pluck an unopened bud of the screw-pine flower; sharpen a new knife; on one side of this flower write *Al Kadr Súra* :\* on the other side write *Vajahatu* ;† make an image out of this flower; write particulars of the horoscope; write *Al Rahmán Súra* ‡ from beginning to end; tie (the image) in five places with left-hand-(twisted) coir; § cut the throat of a blood-sucker (lizard); || smear its blood (on the image); place it on a loft; dry (it) for three days; (then) take it and enter the sea—if (you) go in knee-deep (she) will send a message; if (you) go in to the waist (she) will come.”

\* “Verily we sent down the *Korán* in the night of *Al Kadr*. And what shall make thee understand how excellent the night of *Al Kadr* is? The night of *Al Kadr* is better than a thousand months. Therein do the Angels descend, and the spirit Gabriel also, by the permission of their Lord, with his decrees concerning every matter. It is peace until the rising of the morn.”—Sale’s *Korán*, Chap. xcvi, p. 451.

† The *Vajahatu* is always recited by Muslims before commencing prayers. It forms part of *Al Bakr* (“Cattle”) *Súra* :—“I direct my face unto him who hath created the heavens and the earth; I am orthodox, and not one of the idolaters ..... Say, Verily my prayers, and my worship, and my life, and my death, are dedicated unto God, the Lord of all creatures; He hath no companion. This have I been commanded: I am the first Moslem.”—Sale’s *Korán*, Chap. vi, pp. 96, 104.

‡ The *Súra* entitled “The Merciful,” containing 78 verses. It somewhat resembles Psalm cvii, but is vitiated by including adoration for blessings of a sensuous paradise assured to ‘the faithful.’—“Which, therefore, of your Lord’s benefits will ye ungratefully deny?” See Sale’s *Korán*, Chap. lv, pp. 394-6.

§ *Vá, vái* or *vátu rónu*, is coir twisted by the left hand upon the right: as opposed to right-hand-twisted coir called *kanái* or *kanátu rónu*.

|| A blood-sucker or a chameleon plays a part in the Sinhalese *húniyam* charm called *Lé káma bandhanaya* [ලේ කාම බන්ධනය].

## Glossary.

*Au*, 'new': S. අළුත් [*aḷut*].

*Audei*, '(will) come.' At *Málé ádé* is imp., 'come.' Cf. S. එව් [*évi*].

*Ane*, 'other': S. අනිත් [*anit*].

*Ałani*, 'enter': perhaps contracted from *atołani*, = S. ඇතුළුවෙනවා [*etulvenavá*].

*Effurhu*, '(on) one side' = *eke* + *furhu*: S. එක පිටේ [*eka piṭē*]; *furhumati*. Cf. S. මතුපිට [*matupīṭa*].

*Eli*, pret. of *alaṇ* (?) 'to enter.'

*Ołun*.? The phrase *váhaka vará ołun* (translated, 'particulars of the horoscope,') apparently means the day and hour of birth, and the auspicious or inauspicious position of the moon and planets, as affecting the victim, deducible from (her) horoscope. Compare the Siphalese use (C. A. S. Journ. 1865-6, pp. 71-2).

*Kakú*, 'knee': S. කකුල [*kakula*] 'leg'; *kakú fenu*, 'knee-deep water.'

*Kadágen*, pres. part of *kaḍaṇ*, 'to pluck,' 'break': S. කඩාගන [*kaḍágaṇa*].

*Katildeige* (? *katilaigen*), pres. part. 'cutting the throat.'

*Karhi*, = *karhikeyo*, *Pandanus odoratissimus*, L., 'screw-pine': S. වැට කෙයියා [*veṭakeyiyá*].

*Kalıko*, 'hav. smeared,' Cf. S. ගලා [*gálá*].

*Gos*, 'hav. gone,' p. part. of *dán* 'to go': S. ගොස් [*gos*].

*Tan*, pl. of *tana*, 'place,' S. තැන [*tēna*].

*Tin*, 'three': S. තුන් [*tun*].

*Dumarhí*, '(on) a loft': S. දුම [*duma*].

*Duvas*, 'days': S. දවස් [*davas*].

*Nama*, 'if': S. නම් [*nam*].

*Nagaigen*, pres. part. of *nagaṇ* 'to take.' Cf. S. අරගන [*aragaṇa*].

*Nuvanís*, 'unopened.' Cf. S. නවමි [*navum*], නවුමි [*nevum*] 'new.'

*Fari*, 'bud': S. පඵ [*paḷu*].

*Fas*, 'five': S. පස් [*pas*].

*Furhumati*. See above *effurhu*.

*Fúlu*, 'navel,' 'waist'; *fúlu fenu*, 'waist-deep water.' Cf. S. වලග [*valaga*], 'waist.'

*Fenu*, 'water': S. පැත් [*pēn*].

*Fonuvani*, '(will) send.' Cf. S. එවනවා [*evanavá*].

*Balai*, 'message,' 'messenger.' Cf. Páli, *balattho*; but also S. බැලයා [*bēlayá*], 'hireling.'

*Bávvaí*, p. part. 'hav. placed': S. බාවලා [*bávála*].

*Bede*, p. part. 'hav. tied': S. බැඳ [*bēda*].

*Boḍe* (*rakas boḍe*), 'blood-sucker' (lizard, *calotes*): S. බොහොඬු [*bo-hoṇḍu*] 'chameleon.'

*Mi*, 'this': S. මේ [*mé*].

*Male*, *malu*, 'flower': S. මල [*mala*].

*Müdu*, 'sea': S. මුදු [*müda*].

*Rakas*, forms compound with *boḍe* (q. v.): probably = S. රකුස් [*rakus*], 'demon.'

*Rónu*, 'coir': S. රේනා [*rēna*], 'string,' 'cord.'

*Liame*, *lie*, 'hav. written,' p. part. of *liyaṇ*,—correct form *liyá*, *liyafá* (Málé)—S. ලියා [*liyá*]; *me* (in *liyame*) perhaps = S. ම [*ma*], intensive affix.

*Lein*, 'with blood': S. ලේනිනි [*leyin*].

*Vará*, ? See above, *oḷun*.

*Valie*, 'knife.' Cf. Malay *pisau vali*.

*Váhaka*, 'words'—*váhaka-dakkaṇ* (Málé) 'to talk.' Cf. S. වාක්‍ය [*vákya*]. See above, *oḷun*.

*Vá*, 'left-hand': S. වම [*vama*]. At Maliku (Minakai) written *vái* or *vátu*.

*Vimái*, lit. 'there having been (3 days).' Cf. use of S. වෙලා [*velá*].

*Hanulaigen*, pres. part. 'sharpening': S. හඤ්ඤා [*haṇa*], 'whet-stone,' ලාගානා [*lagaṇa*], 'placing; ගාගානා [*gágaṇa*], 'rubbing,' used instead.

*Hikkai*, 'hav. dried,' p. part. of *hikaṇ* 'to dry.' Cf. Páli *sukha*.

*Huswáden*, adv. 'from beginning to end. Cf. S. හිස්සා [*hisva*], 'empty.\*'

\* Many words occurring in these *mantras* differ entirely from their equivalents given by Christopher in his "Vocabulary of the Máldivian Language" (J. R. A. S., Vol. VI. o. s., pp. 42-76), probably compiled at Málé. The dialect of Huvadú and Aḍḍu Atols approaches Siṅhalese more closely than that of the rest of the group lying to the North.



## NOTE ON THE "MI'RÁ KANTIRI" FESTIVAL OF THE MUHAMMADANS.

BY A. T. SHAMS-UD-DI'N.

(Read October 6th, 1881.)

THIS feast is annually held in Colombo at the Maradána Mosque during *Jamád-ul-ákkir*, the sixth month of the Muhammadan year, in memory of the saint Mirá Sáhib, whose miracles are well known to the Muhammadans, and whom they esteem as a great *Walí*.\* His sepulchre is at Nágúr, near Nágapatam.

The festival† commences on the evening the new moon becomes visible in the month of *Jamád-ul-ákkir*, and lasts till the tenth of the lunar month. Five or six days previous to the new moon they erect a flag-staff, and in the evening of the new moon day the sacred banners are conveyed in solemn procession, attended by a ceremonious display of music, artificial trees, &c. After having perambulated the town in great pomp and state, the procession returns to the place where the flag-staff is erected. There the *Fáthihah* or opening chapter of the Kurán is recited in the name of the saint, and the sacred flag is hoisted.

In other parts of the Muhammadan world also, as at Nágúr, those Musalmáns who venerate this saint set up a flagstaff and annually repeat the *Fáthihah* in his name. On the night of the 10th a great feast is held on account of its being the day that the saint departed this life. The Mosque is illuminated and all kinds of sports take place, which attract crowds of people

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\* "The favourite of heaven."

† Regarding these annual festivals (*Mólids*) held in commemoration of the birth of Muslim Saints, see Lane's *Arabian Nights*, Vol. I., Chap. iii., Note 63, p. 216.—*Hon. Sec.*

to the spot. In short, the whole town is awake that night, and presents a scene of bustle and confusion. The slow murmur of human voices rising at times like the waves of the ocean, and mingling with the clear voices of the ubiquitous sherbert vendor and roasted gram seller—the invariable concomitants of a Ceylon crowd—renders the scene perfectly picturesque. Moreover a *kúdu* is constructed in honour of this saint. This is a frame-work of bamboo, in the shape of a pagoda, made with a sort of network of paper nicely clipped and pasted on it. It is further ornamented with different kinds of coloured paper, formed into various devices, tinsel fringes, &c. When the whole is lighted up within and without, it has a beautiful appearance.

The Musalmán ship captains and sailors are in the habit of making vows and oblations in the name of this saint; *e. g.*, when they meet with any misfortune at sea, they vow that should the vessel reach the desired haven in peace, safely with their property and cargo, they will spend a certain sum of money in offering *Fáthihah* to him.\*

There is a tradition in general reception among the Moors, that in former times the inhabitants of the Máldives were tormented by a demon, to whom they were compelled to sacrifice a female every year; but this saint, a descendant of the prophet, having arrived in the Island, attacked and overcame the demon, and that in return for this service the whole of the inhabitants

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\* “Before a voyage is undertaken, an offering is made to some saint for success, and in danger or distress the mariners trust chiefly in the efficacy of vows or offerings to the tombs of some personage (dead or living) eminent for piety. We are informed of large sums given as votive offerings made during boisterous weather to an old priest resident at Calcutta. All moneys paid at Málé in fulfilment of such vows go to the priest.” (Christopher and Young, *Memoir on the Máldive Islanders*, Trans. Bombay Geo. Soc. 1836-8, p. 75.)—*Hon. Sec.*

became converted to Islám, the propagation of which Mírá Sáhíb had in view in visiting them.

The Máldivians pretend that this saint is buried in their own soil, but the Moors will have it that he was buried at Nágúr on the Coromandel coast, where there is a stupendous mosque erected in honor of him, and which is the resort of vast multitudes of Muhammadans from various parts of the world. The miracles performed by this saint were innumerable.

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#### NOTE.

[According to a Tamil version of an Arabic biography of this saint,\* Mírá Sáhíb was born at “Máñikkapuri” on the 9th *Jamád-ul-ákhir*, A. H. 910 (A. D. 1504), and died on the 10th of the same month, A. H. 978 (A. D. 1570). He is known to his votaries under several names, *e.g.*, Hazrat Mírá Sáhíb, Shaikh 'Abd-ul-Kádir, Sául Hamíd, &c.

Among the miraculous adventures attributed to the Shaikh is included a visit to the Máldives, where, after thwarting the treachery of the King and his subjects, he was enabled to win them over to Islám by ridding the Islands of a dreaded *Jinní*.†

It should be noted, however, that the account of this conversion, though sufficiently quaint to warrant its insertion here *in extenso*, is manifestly nothing more than the plain unvarnished legend related by the Arab traveller Ibn Batúta, as then (*circa* A. D. 1344) current among the Islanders‡ popularised and assimilated to the familiar Arabian Nights' Tale of the Fisherman, the '*Ifrit*', and the bottle of brass.

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\* *Kalarattu Mírāñ Sāhipu A'ṇḍavaravarkaḷ káraṇa-sarittiram*, Káraikkál, A. H. 1293 (A. D. 1876).

† Evidence is adducible that the Máldivians were converted to Muhammadanism not later than A. D. 1244. See “The Máldive Islands” (Ceylon Sessional Papers, 1881) and Gray, J. R. A. S., Vol. X. n. s. 1878, p. 177.

‡ See Lee's “Travels of Ibn Batúta,” p. 179, London, 1829; and Gray (J. R. A. S., Vol. X., n. s. pp. 180–1) translating the French Editors' *Ibn Batoutah*, Tome IV., pp. 126–9. Paris, 1879.

The Tamil-Arabic story runs as follows :—

முகல்லதீவு புக்கிய சரித்திரம்.

கலறத் சாஹுல் கமீது ஆண்டவரவர்கள் பொன்னுணியின் கண்ணுற்ற செய்யிது சைனுத்தீன் மகுதா முதலியவர்களுக்கெல்லாம் பயணஞ்சொல்லிக்கொண்டு அவ்விடத்தகன்று பாசடைச்சோலையின்கண்கனிவகைகளருந்தி தபோதனர்குழு நடந்து கடற்கரை யருகிலாகி நோக்குமிடத்து சாகரமார்ப்பரிப்போடிருக்கக் கண்டு முகல்லதீவுக்கேகவேண்டுமென்ற வெண்ணத்துடன் ஆண்டவனை நாடி அவ்விடத்திலிரண்டு நக அத்துத் தொழுது கலறத் யூசுபு சாகிபு அவர்கள் முதலியவர்களை நோக்கி “நீங்கள் விழிகளைமுடிக்கொண்டு இந்த லவணசமுத்திரத்திற் கால்களை வைத்து என்பின்றுடர்ந்துவாருங்கள்” என்றிசைத்து பிஸமிற் சொல்லி முந்தி ஆண்டவரவர்கள் தங்களின் பாதகமலங்களை வைத்துநடக்க மற்றவர்கள் பின்றுடர்ந்தார்கள். கண்ணிமைக்குமுன் ஆண்டவரவர்கள் முபாறகான வாயினால் தபோதனர்களை கண்விழிக்கச் சொல்லி யேவினார்கள். அவர்கள் விழித்துப்பார்க்க முகல்லதீவின் கரையிலிருக்கக்கண்டு மிகுந்த மகிழ்ச்சிகொண்டார்கள். அந்நகரதிபன் முதலிய காபிற்கள் கலறத்தவர்கள் கூட்டத்துடன் வந்திருப்பதைக்கண்டு “நம்நகர்மேல் சண்டைசெய்ய வந்திருக்கிறார்களே” என்றொருவரோடொருவர் பேசிக்கொண்டு இவர்களையெல்லாந் தந்திரகொலைசெய்யக்கருதி கனிவர்க்கங்கள் முதலிய தீன்பதார்த்தங்களில் கொரோமான நஞ்சுகளை யேற்றி யெடுத்துக்கொண்டு அரசன்முதல்தகரார்களெல்லாங்கூடி எதிர்காண வருபவர்களைப்போல கலறத்தவர்களிடத்திற்சென்று மிகுமரியாடையுடன் முன்னின்று கொடுவரும நச்சுப்பதார்த்தங்களை முன்பில்வைக்க கலறத்தவர்கள் அறிந்து மறியாதவர்கள்போல பிஸமிற் சொல்லி அப்பதார்த்தங்களில் தங்களின் முபாறகான கரத்தைவைத்தெடுத்துப் புசித்துவிட்டு மற்றவர்களுக்கும் கொடுக்க அவரவர்களும் புசித்து மகிழ்ச்சிகூர்ந்தார்கள். இது கண்டு அவ்வரசன் முதலியவர்கள் மனங்கலங்கி “இவர்கள் பெரியோர்களானதால் நாம் செய்தமோசத்தை யறிந்து வெளிவிடவில்லை” யென்று எண்ணிக்கொண்டு போய்விட்டார்கள்.

Translation.

*The Visit to Máldive Island.\**

Hazrat Sául Hamíd, bidding farewell to Sayyid Zain-ud-dín Makhazam and the rest who dwelt at Ponnáni,† left that place, and

\* *Lit.*—‘The account of entering Máldive Island’; முகல்லதீவு [*Mukallatívu*] = *Mahal-diva*, i. e., Málé (Sultan’s Island).

† பொன்னுணியின் *Ponnániyin*, ‘at Ponnáni,’ on the Malabar coast. “It is inhabited almost exclusively by Muhammadans (Moplás)... and is the centre of Musalmán education on the coast.”—Hunter’s “Imp. Gaz. of India,” Vol. VII., p. 377.

feeding on the various fruits of the leafy grove, surrounded by his devotees, reached the sea-shore. Perceiving that the sea was boisterous and having a mind to visit Máldive Island, (the Shaikh,) after meditating upon God and performing the prayers of two *raka't*,\* looked at Hazrat Yúsuf Sáhib and the others, and said: "Shut ye your eyes, and placing your feet in the salt sea follow me." The Sáhib—exclaiming 'In the name of God!†'—first set his lotus-like feet in the water and walked, the others following him. Before the twinkling of an eye the Shaikh with his holy‡ mouth commanded the devotees to open their eyes. When they looked and saw that they were on the shore of Máldive Island they rejoiced exceedingly. But the Ruler of that country and the other infidels,§ seeing Hazrat Sáhib come with a company, spoke one with another: "They are come to make war on our land"; and, intending to kill them by stratagem, introduced deadly poisons into fruits and other eatables. Taking these, the King and the rest of the inhabitants approached Hazrat Sáhib with great respect, as though they had come to welcome them, and set before them the poisoned viands they had brought. But the Sáhib—although cognizant (of their treachery)—feigning ignorance, saying 'In the name of God!' and laying his holy hands on the food, ate it, and handing to the others they too ate and rejoiced. Seeing this, that King and his subjects were perplexed and departed,

\* "The Muslim has to perform [five times a day] certain prayers held to be ordained by God, and others ordained by the Prophet; each kind consisting of two, three, or four 'rek'ahs,' which term signifies the repetition of a set form of words [*Farz, Sunnat, Nafl, or Witr*], chiefly from the Kurán, and ejaculations of 'God is most great!' &c., accompanied by particular postures."—Lane's "Arabian Nights," Vol. I., p. 16. Introduction, Note 1. See too Hughes' "Notes on Muhammadanism," pp. 104–118, London, 1877.

† பிஸ்மில் [*Pismil*]: Arabic *Bismilláh*—the usual Muslim ejaculatory prayer preceding any important action.

‡ முபாறகான் [*mupárahána*]: Arabic *mubárah*, "holy," "blessed."

§ காபிர்கள் [*kápirka*]: Arabic *káfir*, "infidel,"

saying "These men are saints,\* who, though aware of our deceit, did not reveal it."†

### ஜின்னையிடழித்த சரித்திரம்.

முகல்லதீவின் கண்ணுற்ற காபிர்கள் நேர்வழியிலாகவும், அந்தக் குளவிடர் தவிரவும் ஒருநாள் கலறத்மீரூன் சாகிபவர்கள் சிலபக்கிற்குக் ஞடன் தெருவீதிவருமபோது ஒரு வீட்டில் அந்தகரதிபனின் சேவகர் அவ்வூரர்க ளெல்லாரும் கூடி அங்குற்ற ஒரு கன்னிஸ்திரியை சுயிறு கொண்டு கட்டப்போகிறார்கள்; பெண்ணின் தாய் மனம்வருந்தி வயிறு லேந்தேங்கியழுகிறாள்; அதுகண்டு கலறத்தவர்கள் அங்குளரைவிளித்து "இதென்ன" வென்க, அவர்கள் "இவ்வூரில் மகாபெரிய ஒருஜின் னுண்டு, அது ஒரு வருடத்திற்கொருதரம் இவ்வூர்ப்புற மிருக்கின்ற தேவாலயத்திற்குவரும், அதற்காக ஒரு பெண்ணைச் சோடித்துப் பெலிகொடுக்கிறது, அப்படிக்கொடாவிட்டால் அந்தஜின் ஊருச்சுள்வந்து அழிச்சாட்டியம்செட்டியும், இஃது பூர்வீசமாய் நடந்துவருகின்றது. ஆதலால் முறைவண்ணமாகக் கன்னிஸ்திரிகளை கொடுத்தவருகிரேமிப்போது இப்பெண்ணின் முறையானதினாலே யிங்கடைந்து இப்பெண்ணைக்கொண்டுபோக எத்தனஞ்செப்கிரேமெ"ன்றார்கள். கலறத்தவர்கள் அக்காபிர்களைநோக்கி "இகமெடுதியான காரியததைச்செய்ய வேண்டாமெ"ன்றுவிலக்கி "அப்பெண்ணை யோராடவனுக்கு மணமுடித்துக் கொடுங்க ளெ"ன்றுரைத்து விட்டேகிறார்கள். அக்காபிர்கள் கலறத்தவர்களின் காரணிகங்களை நன்றா யறியாதவர்களானதால் ஆண்டவரவர்களின் நன்மொழியை விசுவசிக்காமல் எப்போதுஞ் செய்வதுபோல் அப்பெண்ணையலங்கரித்து இறுக்கக்கட்டிச் சிவிகையிலேற்றிதீவிகைகள் பிறங்க வாத்தியங்கள் கறங்க ஊருலாவி ஊர்ப்புறமுற்ற கோயிற்குள் அப்பெண்ணை வைத்துவிட் டவரவர்களில்லிந்சேர்ந்தார்கள். இச்சங்கதிகளை கலறத் மீரூன்சாகிபவர்கள் ஞானதஷ்டியினுலறிந்து அச்சமுற்ற இரவின்கண் அற்புதனை அகத்திலெண்ணி அத்தமதிருக்கைசசித்தம்மகிழ்ந்தெடுத்து உத்தமர்களின்றி முத்திபெற்றவள்ளல் தனியேநடந்து அப்பெண்ணுற்ற விடத்திற்கென்றுற்றார்கள். அத்தருணத்தில் அந்த ஜின்னானது உத்தண்டத் தொனியுடன் அக்கன்னியைநோக்கி வரக்கண்ட மீரான் கமீதொலி ஆண்டவரவர்கள் அந்த ஜின்னை நோக்கி "அடா! சைத்தானே நீ பொறுதிசெய்; அப்பெண்ணிடத்தணுகாதே" யென்றார்கள். அச்சொற்கேட்டந்த ஜின் மனமருண்டு உடற்றளர்ந்து முகஞ்சாம்பி ஆண்டவரவர்களின் பாத தாமரையிற் சாஷ்டாங்கஞ் செய்தது. கலறத்தவர்கள் அந்த ஜின்னை நோக்கி, "அடா! மல்லுனே, இச்சுசைக் கொண்டுபோய் எதிரிலிருக்கின்ற ஏரியிற்றண்ணீ ரெடுத்துவா" வென்க; உடனே அந்த ஜின் கூசைக் கையிலெடுத்து மனூருபங்கொண்டு அவ்வேரியிற்கென்று

\* பெரியோர்கள் [*périyórkal*], lit. "great men."

† Compare the adventure of Es-Sindibád and his companions (4th Voyage) on the Island of the Cannibals (*Seksar* = ? Sumatra).—Lane's "Arabian Nights," Vol. III., p. 37.

கூசையிட்டுத் தண்ணீர்ள்ள, அவ்வேரியின் தண்ணீரடங்கலும் கூசி னுள்ளாகிவிட்டது. அதைக்கண்டு அந்த ஜின் ஆச்சரியமடைந்து அக் கூசைக்கையிலெடுக்க வராததினால் மீட்டுந் தன் ஆச்சிரமங்களைக் தொண்டு தூக்கியும் எவ்வளவும் நகராததினாலே ஜின் வலிகுறைந்து மக்கூசைவிடா தீழுத்துக்கொண்டு நிற்கும்போது, அத்தீவிலுள்ளவர்கள் வழக்கம்போல் மூன்றஞ்சாமத்திற் குடங்களை எடுத்துக்கொண்டு தண்ணீர்ள்ள அவ்வேரிக்கரையை நண்ணி நோக்குமிடத்து அவ்வேரி புனலின்றி வறண்டிருப்பதையும் இந்த ஜின் மனிதர்போல் நின்று கூசுடன் மல்லாடுவதையும்பார்த்து விபரீதமாகி நின்றார்கள். அந்த ஜின் தன்றாக்கடிய மட்டில் கூசையெடுத்தும் வராழையால் உடலயர்ந்து கலறத் காதிற்கன்ஜ சவாய் நாயகமவர்களின் நிருச்சமு சத்திலாகி, நடந்தவை நவில கலறத்தவர்கள் “அடா! சைத்தானே, நீ போய் நமக்குரிய பிஸ்மிலையுன் வாயினாற்பகர்ந்து அக்கூசைக் கவிழ் அதனுட்பட்ட நீரெல்லாம் ஓடிப் போகும், அப்பாலும் பிஸ்மிற் சொலவி நீர்மொண்டுவா” வென்க; ஜின்போய் அவ்வாறியற்றி புனற் கொடுவந்து கலறத்தவர்கள் முன்பிலாக்கிற்று; கலறத்தவர்கள் அத்தண்ணீரெடுத்து ஒலுச்செய்யும்போது அந்த ஜின் முடப்புத்தியினால் இக்கூசினுட்புகுந்து அதனுள்ளுறும் விஞ்சையை நாமறியவேண்டுமென்றெண்ணியிருந்து ஆண்டவரவர்கள் ஒலுச்செய்து முகிந்தவுடன் “ஆண்டவர்களே, இக்கூசினுள் நான்துழைந்து பார்க்க உத்தரவுதரவேணுமெ”ன்றது, கலறத்தவர்கள் “நல்லதுபுகுதெ”ன்றார்கள். அந்தஜின் தன்னுடலை யொடுக்கிக் கூசினுட்புகுந்தது. கலறத்தவர்கள் அக்கூசிற் கு மூடி போட்டுவிட்டு சுபுகு தொழுது கொண்டிருக்கும்போது அத்தீவார் வழமம்போல் சவ மெடுப்பதற்குரியவைகள் கொண்டுவந்து பார்க்குமிடத்தல், அப்பதிவிரதை இரவையில் வைத்ததுபோற் சீவித்திருப்பதைக்கண்டு புதுமையாகியவளை யடுத்திருந்து நடந்தவைநவிலென்க; அக்கன்னி இரவையில் நடந்த காரணங்களைச்சொல்ல அவ்வூரார் சேட்டு “அந்தஜின் எங்கேயிருக்குதெ”ன்க அவள்கலறத்தவர்களைச்சுட்டி “அக்காரணிகரின் சமுகத்திலாய கலசத்தடைபட்டிருக்கிறதெ”ன்றார். அத்தீவிலுளார் மிகமகிழ்ந்தகங்குளிர்ந்து, அப்பெண்ணின் கட்டுகளை யவிழ்த்து தங்களுடன் கூட்டிக்கொண்டு அற்புதக்கடவுளின் அருட்கரந்த பொற்புறு வள்ளலின் பொன்னடி வணங்கி மிகு துரிதமாப்தடந்து அத்தீவரசனிடத்தில் இச்சங்கதிகளைப் பகர்ந்தார்கள். அவன்கேட்டானந்தமாகி மந்திரர்புரோகிதர் மற்றுந்தலைவர் வணிகர்க்குழ கால் நடையாக ஒடோடியும்வந்து ஆண்டவரவர்களைக் கண்டு “எங்களுக்குற்ற தீங்கைநீக்கிவைத்த நாயகரேயென்று பாதம்பணிந்து, எங்களை யிரட்சிக்க வேண்டும் நாங்களுங்கள் அடைக்கலமாகிலேனும், தாங்களிட்டகட்டளைப்படி தவறாது நடப்போமெ”ன்றாரெத்து நின்றார்கள். கலறத் மீரான் சாகிபவர்கள் அவ்வரசன முதலியபேர்சளுக்கெல்லாம் கலிமாவென்னுந் தேவாமிர்த்ததைப் புகட்டி நேர்வழியிலாக்கினார்கள். அத்தீவிலுள்ள கோயிற்களையெல்லாமிடித்து பள்ளிகட்டிவித்து அவ்வரசனேநோக்கி “நீயே செங்கோற்செய்து குடிபடைகளுக் கொத்தாசையாக விரு”வென்றாசிகூறிச் சிலநாளங்குற்றார்கள். இராஜா முதலியவர்கள் வந்து கலறத்தாண்டவரவர்களை நோக்கி “எங்களின் நாயகமே இச்சத்துருவாகிய ஜினனை யிங்கிவ்வாறு வைத்திருந்தாற் பின்னுக்கென்னமோ சஞ்செய்யுமோவென்ற வச்சமெங்கள் மனதைக் கலக்கின்றது! தாங்க ளெவ்வாறுரைக்கின்றீர்களோ அவ்வாறிசைந்து நடத்துகிறோமெ”ன்க;

கலறத்தவர்கள் “இந்த ஜின் அடக்கமாயிருக்கின்ற கரகத்தை ஒரு குந்த ரூவிலேற்றிக்கொண்டு போய் காலிக்கப்பறமுள்ள கடலிற் ரூழ்த்திவிட்டுவாருங்களெ” ன்க; அந்தகரார் “ஆண்டவர்களே நாங்கள் எந்நேரமும் கடலோடித் திரிகின்றவர்கள் இந்த ஜின் கடலிலிருந்துகொண்டு எங்க ளோயென்ன பண்ணுமோ!” வென்றார்கள். கலறத்தவர்கள் “உங்களை யா தொன்றுஞ் செய்யமாட்டாது, உங்களின் குந்தரூக்களுக்கு இனியொரு க்காலுங் கடலில் அயோக்கியமில்லை” யென்க. அவ்வூரார் கலறத்த வர்களின் முபாறக்கான வாயினுற் சொற்றவை யொருக்காலுந் தவரு தென்றெண்ணி மகிழ்ச்சிகூர்ந்து அக்கூசை குந்தரூவிலேற்றி கலறத் தவர்கள் சைக்கினைசெய்த கடலிற்றூழ்த்தி விட்டுவந்து மிகமகிழ்ந்து கலறத்தவர்களை வாழ்த்திப் புகழ்ந்துற்றார்கள்.

### Translation.

#### *The Destruction of the Jinn.\**

IN order to convert the infidels dwelling in Máldive Island, and also to remove the danger in that country (Hazrat Mírán Sáhib performed the following miracle):—

Passing one day down the street, attended by a few Fakírs, (the Shaikh) observed in a house the soldiers of the King of that country and the inhabitants together going to bind a maiden with ropes, and the mother of the girl sad of heart crying piteously in her distress. Seeing this, Hazrat called to those persons, “What meaneth this?” They replied, “In this country there is a monstrous Jinn† who once

\* For the legendary account of the conversion of the Máldive Islanders to Muhammadanism by Abú'l Barakát, the Barbar, see references under † ante p. 127.

† The Muslims in general believe in three different species of created intelligent beings, viz :—Angels (*Máláikah*) who are created of light; Genii (*Jinn*), who are created of fire; and men (*Ins*), created of earth. Some hold that the Devils (*Shaitáns*) are distinct from Angels and *Jinn*. The species of Jinn (said to have been created some thousand years before Adam) consists, according to tradition, of five orders:—1. *Jann*; 2. *Jinn*; 3. *Shaitán*; 4. *Ifrít*; 5. *Márid*—the most powerful. There are good and evil Genii. If good, they are exceedingly handsome: if evil, horribly hideous. At pleasure they become invisible, or disappear in earth or air; and appear to mankind commonly in the shapes of serpents, dogs, cats, or giants. Their chief abode is said to be in the mountains of Káf, which encircle the earth. (See the full Note 21, Lane's Arabian Nights, Vol. I., pp. 26-33.



a year comes to the temple which is outside the city.\* On that account a virgin is adorned and offered to him as a sacrifice; otherwise that Jinní will enter our country and harass us. This custom has obtained from the time of our ancestors. We therefore give our maidens by turns. As it is now this girl's turn, we have come here and are preparing to take her away." Hazrat, looking on the infidels, forbade them, saying, "Do not this wicked act, but marry ye the maid to a young man," and went away.

But those infidels disregarded the righteous words of the Sáhib, being quite ignorant of his previous miraculous acts. According to their wont they adorned the girl, bound her tightly, and having placed her in a palanquin paraded her through the country with music and lighted torches†; finally, leaving her in the temple which is outside the town, they departed to their respective houses.

Hazrat Mírán Sáhib, aware of these circumstances by divine intuition, meditating on the wonderful God, in the dread night took a goglet joyfully in his hand, and walked alone to the place where the girl was kept.‡ At that juncture the Jinní approached with fearful noise, coming to gaze on the maid. Mírán Hamíd seeing him said, "O Shaitán, be patient; approach not the girl." Hearing those words the Jinní, alarmed, confused in mind, trembling, with face distorted, made obeisance at the lotus feet of the Sáhib.§ Hazrat looking on the Jinní said "Take this goglet, O Accursed,|| and fetch water from the tank which is opposite." The Jinní, at once assuming human shape, took

\* "There appeared to them every month an evil spirit, who came from the sea, resembling a ship filled with lamps." (Gray, J. R. A. S., Vol. X. n. s. p. 180, translating *Ibn Batoutah*, Tome IV., p. 126). தேவாலயம் [*Téválayam*] = A temple dedicated to Hindú or local *Deviyó* or gods. Ibn Batúta has *boudkhánah* (Arabic), "Idol temple."

† "..... carried as a bride,  
With music and with litters gaily dight."

‡ Abú-'l-Barakát, it will be remembered, took the place of the old woman's daughter, and worsted the demon by reciting "the glorious Kurán."

§ "..... for spirits feel all force divine,  
And know the sacred presence of the pure."

|| மல்குனே [*malvúné*]: Arabic *malvún*, "curse."

the goglet in his hand and went to the tank. But when he dipped the goglet to draw water, all the water of the tank flowed into it. Perceiving this the Jinní was filled with wonder, because the goglet did not come with his hand nor yield in the least though he lifted it with all his might. While the Jinní was standing with diminished strength without releasing his hold on the goglet, the Islanders, taking their waterpots as usual and going to the tank to draw water at the third watch, seeing the tank dry and the Jinní in human form standing tugging at the goglet, stood terrified. Because the goglet did not yield, although he tried his utmost to lift it, the Jinní returned to the holy presence of Hazrat and informed him of what had happened. "Go, Shaitán," said the Shaikh, "and say our (Muslim) '*Bismilláh*' ('In the name of God!'), and the water in the goglet will run out; again say '*Bismilláh*,' draw water and come." The Jinní went, did as directed, and bringing water placed it before Hazrat, who took it and made his ablutions.\* The Jinní, in his foolishness thinking 'I will enter the goglet and see the wonder inside,' as soon as the Sáhíb had finished, said "Master, be pleased to allow me to enter this goglet." As Hazrat said "Well, enter," the Jinní contracted his body and crept into the goglet.† Whilst the Shaikh, having clapped on the stopper, was performing his prayers‡ those Islanders, as usual, brought the requisites for taking away the corpse. But when they saw the girl alive, as left the night before, they were astonished, approached her and asked what had occurred. Having heard her relate

\* ஒலு [olu]: Arabic *wuzu*, "the ablution of face, hands, feet, &c., necessary before every time of prayer." (See Hughes' Notes on Muhammadanism, p. 105.)

† கூசா [*kúsá*], an earthen water-bottle; whereas the one which contained the 'Ifrit in the "Story of the Fisherman" (Arabian Nights) was of brass (*kumkum*.)

‡ சுபுகு [*súpuku*], the Muslim morning prayer. "Glorify God when it is evening (*masa*) and at morning (*subh*)—and to him be praise in the heavens and in the earth—and at afternoon (*ashi*) and at noontide (*zuhr*)." —Súrat-ur-Rum (xxx), 17.

the events of the night, the Islanders asked, "Where is the Jinní?" She replied, "He is shut up in the goglet which is in the presence of the deliverer," pointing to Hazrat. The Islanders, rejoicing exceedingly, with gladdened minds untied the bonds of the girl, and taking her with them worshipped the golden feet of the bountiful benefactor who abounded in the favour of the wonderful God; then very hastily went and narrated the circumstances to the King of the Island. He, rejoicing when he heard, surrounded by his ministers, other chief men, astrologers, and merchants, came quickly on foot, and seeing the Shaikh, worshipped him, saying "O lord who hast removed the danger that threatened us, be pleased to save us: we are come under thy protection: we will without fail perform whatever thou commandest." Hazrat Mírán Sáhíb, having fed that King and all his subjects with the divine ambrosia called *Kalimah*, caused them to come into the right way,\* and, having broken down all the temples in the Island, built mosques. Looking at that King he said, "Do thou reign alone and be a help to thy subjects"; (then) blessed them, and abode (there) a few days.† The King and the other inhabitants, however, came to the Sáhíb and said "O lord, the fear of the harm he will work in the future distresses our minds, should we keep our enemy the Jinní here thus; we will do whatever thou biddest us." Hazrat replied, "Load the goglet in which the Jinní is enclosed in a *gundara*,‡ and having taken and sunk it (in the sea) beyond Galle,§ return." But those people said

\* "When any one is converted to Islám he is required to repeat the *Kalimah*, or Creed:—*Lá-iláhá-il-lal-láho Muhammad-ur-Rasúl-Ullah*. 'There is no deity but God, and Muhammad is the Apostle of God.'—Hughes' Muhammadanism, p. 102.

† Ibn Batúta who styles the Máldive Sovereign, converted by the Maghrabin, *Ahmed Chenourázah* [Shanurázah = ? Senarat], saw the record of the conversion in the chief Mosque at Málé (A. D. 1344).

‡ கந்தர [kuntará], the term applied to Máldive boats. The Sinhalese call these Islanders commonly *Gundara-kárayó* 'the *gundara* (boat) men.'

§ காலி [Káli], the modern Point-de-Galle.

“O master, we are always traversing the sea; should this Jinní remain in the sea, how much hurt he will do us !” “He will do no hurt to you or your *gundaras* hereafter,” replied the Shaikh. The inhabitants, thinking that the words uttered by the holy mouth of Hazrat will not fail, rejoiced, and shipping that goglet on a *gundara*, sank it in the sea, as directed by the Sáhíb; then returned praising and applauding him.—*H. C. P. B., Hon. Sec.*]

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## SERICULTURE IN CEYLON.

BY J. L. VANDERSTRAATEN, M.D.

*(Read October 6th, 1881.)*

SERICULTURE, or, the raising of silk-worms, is derived from *Seres*, 'Chinese,' and *cultura*, 'culture,' because "silk" came from the Chinese word *Se*, which signifies 'silk.' The name, therefore, of the great Empire of China derives its name from the great silk industry. The discovery of the uses to which the cocoon of the silk-worm might be applied appears to have been first made in China by an Empress, who was the first to unravel the filmy thread, and to work it into a web of cloth, about 2,700 years before the Christian era.

In the middle of the 6th century, the Western world received the great boon of a supply of silk-worms' eggs. These were secretly conveyed from Semida, between Tartary and China, to Constantinople, by two Persian monks, who concealed the eggs in a hollow cane. At the proper season they were hatched, and the caterpillars were fed with the leaves of the wild mulberry tree. From this small commencement the myriads of silk worms have sprung, which, throughout Europe and Western Asia, have met the continual demand for silk. The introduction of silk into Europe occurred about the year A. D. 552, in the reign of Justinian, and we find from Tennent's History of Ceylon, (Vol. I., p. 569) that the earliest record made of the introduction of silk into the Island of Ceylon, was in the reign of Justinian, by Cosmas, an Egyptian merchant, who published the narrative of Sopater, a Greek trader, whom he had met at Adule in Ethiopia, when on his return from Ceylon. Sopater told Cosmas that, from China and other emporia, silk and other articles named by him were imported into Ceylon.

I have searched for information on the subject of Sericulture, or silk, in all the works relating to Ceylon that I could find in the Library of this Society, and in the Colombo and Colonial Medical Libraries. I have looked into Baldæus, Knox, Valentyn, Percival, Cordiner, Davy, Lee's translation of Ribeyro, Marshall, Forbes, Knighton, Pridham, Hoffmeister and Tennent, but I have only been able to glean the following scanty information on these subjects.

In Valentyn's History, published in 1663, there is the following reference to Sericulture :—"In Jaffnapatam experiments are made to nourish the silk-worm, and obtain by it a source of livelihood. Mulberry trees have been planted here and in many other places, and they appear to thrive well. In January and February the worms are transported from Jaffna, and other small insects can be collected here. These are occupations which are interesting, and can be undertaken with little pains and at small cost."

I find from the Appendix to Lee's translation of Ribeyro's History of Ceylon, that in March, 1740, the Governor Baron Van Imhoff left the following memorandum on silk for the information of his successor :—

"Silk has not been so successful as we anticipated when we began to grow it here."

In 1849, Pridham mentions (Vol. I., p. 374) that "on account of the dryness of the Northern Province, the culture of the mulberry plant might be almost indefinitely extended by the introduction of the silk-worm, and silk be rendered one of its leading staples, instead of being, as is now the case, completely neglected. The mode of culture practised in Hindostan, as being the most simple, will be at first the best-adapted for the native agriculturist, who has to acquire skill and practice ere he can be expected to improve upon Oriental methods. Much depends upon the abundance of cooly labour, which may be further cheapened by employing children to

prepare and lay down the sets as soon as the nurseries of the mulberry plant are sufficiently stocked to admit of the operations of the planter.”

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From Sir J. E. Tennent's "Natural History of Ceylon" I have obtained the following description of the Silk Moths found here :—

“Among the strictly nocturnal *Lepidoptera* are some gigantic species. Of these, the cinnamon-eating *Atlas* often attains the dimensions of nearly a foot in the stretch of its superior wings. It is very common in the gardens about Colombo, and its size, and the transparent talc-like spots in its wings, cannot fail to strike even the most careless saunterer. But little inferior to it in size is the famed *Tusseh silk-moth* [*Antherœa mylitta*, Drury,] which feeds on the country almond (*Terminalia catappa*) and the *palma christi* or castor-oil plant ; it is easily distinguishable from the *Atlas*, which has a triangular wing, whilst its is falcated, and the transparent spots are covered with a curious thread-like division drawn across them.

“Towards the Northern portions of the Island this valuable species entirely displaces the other, owing to the fact that the almond and *palma christi* abound there. The latter plant springs up spontaneously on every manure-heap or neglected spot of ground ; and might be cultivated, as in India, with great advantage—the leaf to be used as food for the caterpillar, the stalk as fodder for cattle, and the seed for expression of castor oil. The Dutch took advantage of this facility, and gave every encouragement to the cultivation of silk at Jaffna.

“The Portuguese had made the attempt previous to the arrival of the Dutch, and a strip of land on the banks of the Kelani river, near Colombo, still bears the name of *Orta Seda*, the silk garden. The attempt of the Dutch to introduce the true silk worm, the *Bombyx mori*, took place under the Governorship of

Ryckloff Van Goens, who, on handing over the administration to his successor, in 1663, thus apprises him of the imitation of the experiment :—‘At Jaffna Palace a trial has been undertaken to feed silk-worms, and to ascertain whether silk may be reared at that station. I have planted a quantity of mulberry trees, which grow well there, and they ought to be planted in other directions.’—*Valentyn*, chap. xiii. The growth of the mulberry tree is noticed the year after in a report to the Governor-General of India, but the subject afterwards ceased to be attended to; but it never attained such a development as to become an article of commercial importance.

Ceylon now cultivates no silk-worms whatever, notwithstanding this abundance of the favourite food of one species; and the rich silken robes sometimes worn by the Buddhist priesthood, are imported from China and the Continent of India.

In addition to the Atlas moth and the Mylitta, there are many other *Bombycidæ* in Ceylon; and though the silk of some of them, were it susceptible of being unwound from the cocoon, would not bear a comparison with that of the *Bombyx mori*, or even of the Tusseh moth, it might still prove to be valuable when carded and spun. If the European residents in the Colony would rear the larvæ of these lepidoptera, and make drawings of their various changes, they would render a possible service to commerce and a certain one to entomological knowledge.

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In connection with the subject of Sericulture in Ceylon, I have obtained the permission of the Revd. Father Palla, of Galle, to illustrate my paper by the exhibition of a card of silk-worm eggs as originally received from Japan, through Government, in December last.

In November, 1879, the Rev. Father Palla applied to His Excellency the Governor, Sir J. R. Longden, to use his influence



in obtaining a supply of eggs from China or Japan. In a few days he received the gratifying information that His Excellency would have much pleasure in applying to the Consul-General of Japan for a supply of eggs.

In January, 1880, a communication was received by Government from Her Majesty's Consul-General at Yeddo, in Japan, that it was too late in the season to forward any eggs then as they had almost all been exported, but that a supply would be sent in the next season.

In December, 1880, the first supply was received by Government from Yeddo, and at once handed to Father Palla, who distributed a few cards to some friends who had previously begun the cultivation of the mulberry plant in anticipation of the arrival of the eggs.

The eggs, which are as small as grains of mustard, as laid by the insect on white cards, (each 14 by 9 inches long,) cover the whole card, so that there are thousands of eggs on each card. The one I now exhibit has been practically hatched and bears the empty shells as well as those which have not hatched as yet. The cards have certain Japanese impressions on them to prove that they are genuine Japanese silk-worm eggs.

There were several cards, each being covered with tissue paper, and then wrapped in thick covers of China and brown paper. There was also a little box with 100 divisions, numbered; in each division there were six cocoons. The numbers on the divisions corresponded with the numbers on the cards, and the quality of the cocoons and silk, which each card was capable of producing, could be ascertained by reference to these numbers.

The eggs which were received in December began to hatch in a few days after they were exposed to the air in a ventilated room. It required a magnifying glass to enable one to see the minute caterpillars or larvæ which were hatched, and these

had to be carefully removed and kept in little paper boxes containing tender mulberry leaves. They began to grow rapidly and increase in size, as can be judged from the specimens now exhibited, containing caterpillars of different stages of growth.\*

### INDIAN SPECIES

Described by Captain Thomas Hutton, F.G.S., C.M.Z.S., Corresponding Member of the Agri-Horticultural Society of India.†

Wild species of India differ widely in form, habits, food, and silk from the *Bombyces* proper; they are all wild and indigenous to India and widely diffused wherever there are hills. The type of this group is the well-known *Tussar* or *Tussek moth* (*Antheræa paphia*) which is found along the coast line from Bombay through Pondicherry and eastward to Bengal, and thence through Cachar, Assam, Darjiling, and even to the Punjab.

When left to nature, in a wild state, they are annual or single-brooded; but when domesticated, two to five broods a year may be obtained.

In the whole family of the Lepidoptera there is no insect so variable in the imago state in point of colouring as the *Tussar* species, so that a novice would scarcely believe the varieties to be of one species.

The *Actias selene*, others of that genus, and the *Antheræa*, have a strong, sharp-pointed, horny spine at the shoulder of the wing, which is alternately brought into play in making a cross-cut, or in separating the threads without cutting, until the

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\* The card and other specimens exhibited at the Meeting can be seen at the De Soyza Museum, Ceylon Medical College, Colombo.

† From the Journal of the Agricultural and Horticultural Society of India Vol. I. Part 4; New Series.

moth makes its exit from the cocoon. In *Actias* the cocoons are not so full of silk as those of *Antheræa*, but it is “strong, tenacious, elastic, and brilliant.”

One species of wild silk-worm found in the N. W. Himalayas has been named after the writer alluded to, *Bombyx Huttoni*. It will not submit to domestication.

The other species are *Antheræa assama*, found in Assam; *Antheræa Roylei*, found in Mussoree and Simla feeding on the oak; and *Bombyx Mari* a *Pât Porloo*, found in Bengal.

Of the *Eria*, *Erie*, *Arrea* or *Arindee* group *Phalæa cynthia*, found in Bengal, feeds on the castor oil plant instead of on the mulberry and yields a coarser silk.

Another of the *Eria* group is the *Attacus atlas*. It thrives well when found and taken from the jungle, but the moths could not be induced to breed. The *Attacus cynthia* is the same as the *Attacus canningi*, and is abundant in Mussorie and Cachar.

The above are also described as belonging to the genus “*Saturnia*”—*Saturnia atlas*, ‘the giant atlas moth’ whose wings measure 7 or 8 inches across; *Saturnia cercropia* and *Saturnia luna* have their wings produced into a tail; *Saturnia cynthia* is the *arindî* silk-worm of India. Lattreille states that these are the wild species of silk worm of China. *Saturnia promethea* is a North American species. It forms its cocoon within the leaf of a sassafras tree, having previously fastened the stalk of the leaf to the stem by a strong silken web, whereby it is prevented from falling with the other leaves.

Wild silk-worms feed upon different trees, such as the jujube, *Ficus religiosa* or Peepul tree, the castor oil plant, the almond, some of the laurel tribe, and others. (*Royle’s Productive Resources of India*.)

As Mr. Geddes of Moratuwa had a supply of silk-worm eggs from Father Palla I wrote to him for such information as he could give me. The following is his reply,

which will be found full of interesting information on this subject:—

Parate, Moratuwa,

September 29th, 1881.

DEAR SIR,—With reference to your request for specimens of the Mylitta silk moth, I regret that I have no moths at present, but only some larvæ of Mylitta and Atlas, which I am rearing for Mr. Alfred Wailly, of London. There must be specimens at the Museum.

There seem to be several varieties of the Mylitta. According to Major Coussmaker, the Himalayan variety is univoltine (single-brooded) and the larvæ casts the skin five times, and attains a length of seven inches when full grown. There are smaller varieties in other parts of India, and in the kind found here the larvæ moults four times and is about five inches long. In India the Mylitta feeds on the *Terminalea tomentosa*, *Zizypus jujuba*, *Lagerstræma indica*, *Ficus benjamina*, *Carissa*, *Guidia*, and other trees. I do not know if any of these grow here. In this country the Mylitta is to be found on the *kaju*, *kahata*, *milila*, *veraļu*, and some other trees; and the Ceylonese variety of the insect is polyvoltine, producing four or five generations in a year. Sir Emerson Tennent says, in his *Natural History*, that the Mylitta feeds on the leaves of the castor oil tree, but he has confounded it with the *Attacus ricini* or Arinda silk worm, which is quite a different species and does not, so far as I know, exist in Ceylon.

The word *tussur*—variously written “*tasar*,” “*tusseh*,” “*tussah*,” and several other ways—is derived from *tussurie*, Hindústání for a shuttle.\* In England they call all sorts of wild silk-worms by the general name of “*tussurs*,” but the name properly belongs to the species known scientifically—or rather empirically, for such names have been multiplied until they have become worse than useless—by the various names of *Saturnia paphia*, *Antheræa paphia*, *Antheræa Mylitta* and *Attacus Mylitta*.

The Mylitta silk-worm cannot be fed on plucked leaves like the mulberry and castor oil species, but must be kept either on growing

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\* S. සසර [*tasara*], “shuttle.”

the leaves fresh. It has not hitherto been cultivated except by entomologists, all the tussur silk being made from wild cocoons gathered in the jungles. I have tried keeping the larvæ on exposed trees, but it did not answer, as they were all destroyed by birds, red ants, or lizards. Major Coussmaker keeps them on bushes covered with bamboo cages, and that plan might answer here ; but I believe it would be too expensive a way of obtaining cocoons in sufficient quantity for manufacturing purposes. I keep mine on cut branches, and I have an arrangement by which they are transferred from exhausted branches to fresh ones with very little trouble. But this plan requires a plant that, after being cut and put in water, will not wither before the silk-worms have time to consume the leaves ; and I have not yet found any plant that is perfectly satisfactory in that respect for feeding the Mylitta, though, in the case of the Atlas, the *Milnea Roxburghiana* answers perfectly. For the Mylitta I have used *kahata*, *veraļu*, and *kaju*, and I am now using *katakalu* (Sinhalese for a common weed of which I do not know the botanical name). This plant seems to answer better than any I have tried before, but I have had very little experience of it yet. For keeping the branches for the silk-worms I have long tin cylinders placed horizontally and filled with water, and along the upper side of the cylinder there is a bar of wood pierced with holes for inserting the branches ; but the plan is not easy to describe, though very simple when seen.

The culture of the tussur silkworm is only an experiment yet, and except as a matter of scientific investigation, it would be premature to give it any encouragement. Though a silk-worm be polyphagous in a state of nature, yet it does not follow that it has no proper food plant, and the proper food plant of the tussur—if it has one—is not yet known. Then there is no general market for tussur silk, because it is not a recognized commercial product as real silk is. Tussur silk may in future to a considerable extent supersede cotton, and it may also be largely used in combination with cotton and woollen yarn for improving fabrics both in appearance and durability, but it never can be a substitute for true silk. Those who are now giving attention to the artificial propagation of the tussur silk-worm may confer a service on future commerce and manufacturing industry, but they

cannot expect to obtain from their experiments any pecuniary benefit for themselves. In the meantime the thing to be ascertained is the proper food plant of the tussur, for, as I said before, a silkworm's being polyphagous does not prove that it has not a proper tree on which it is more at home than any other. The Arinda silk-worm is polyphagous in a wild state, and yet it has for its proper food plant the castor oil tree. The Atlas is also more polyphagous than the tussur, and yet I know of no tree except the *Milnea Roxburghiana* on which it can be artificially reared for more than one generation ; and while more than a hundred cocoons of the Atlas will be found on a single tree of this species, not more than two or three can be found on any other. I think the proper tree of the tussur must be an Indian species not indigenous to this country, because there does not seem to be any tree here on which the cocoons are to be found in such numbers as to be worth collecting for manufacturing purposes, as is done in India.

In the meantime the only silk industry likely to be commercially successful is the cultivation of the mulberry. Many persons when they first give their attention to silk production think that wild silk-worms must be more profitable than the mulberry species, but they always become converts to the mulberry in the end.

Yours truly,

ALEX. T. GEDDES.

P.S.—The eggs of the tussur moth hatch in 8 days here. In a temperature of 70° to 75° Fah. they hatch in about fifteen, but they lose their vitality and become putrid if the hatching be delayed for more than twenty days. The breed can therefore be transported long distances only in the pupa state. I omitted to mention that the caterpillar, like that of the Atlas, has the habit of devouring its own cast off skin.

I enclose a specimen of tussur silk and one of mulberry silk. The mulberry silk is the one tied with red thread.\*

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\* These can be seen at the "De Soyza Museum," Colombo.

## SINHALESE OMENS.\*

By S. JAYATILAKA, Mudaliyár.

*(Read October 6th, 1881.)*

OMENS enter largely into the every-day life of the native of Ceylon. They exercise considerable influence in almost every remarkable occurrence or incident in his life—the birth of a child, the marriage of a son or daughter, the undertaking of a journey or speculation, an illness or death in the family, and last but not least, the result of his favourite pastime, a lawsuit.

One of the peculiar characteristics in Ceylon of faith in omens is that this feeling, or fear, or belief—by whatever name it may be called—is shared alike by all classes of natives.

Omens are of two kinds, lucky and unlucky. If one about to start on a journey, or undertake a particular work, meets with an omen described as a bad one, he postpones the journey and gives up the work for a while, and in many instances he abandons both altogether; and when compelled by necessity to do the one or the other, he does it with the foregone conclusion of a failure.

Instances are known of medical men, summoned to attend on persons dangerously ill, whom, perhaps, timely aid might have saved, returning home and refusing to see the patient, or prescribe for him, as being perfectly useless and unavailing, because just after starting they had met with a bad omen.

The following verse from an Elu poetical work called *Seḷali-hiṇi Sandēṣaya*, [සැලලිහිණි සන්දේශය] written by Śrī Rāhula Totāgamuvé, the great poet who flourished about the year

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\* First published in abridged form in the “Ceylon Diocesan Gazette,” March 1st, 1879.—*Hon. Sec.*

1410, A.D., enumerates some of the good omens which it is lucky to meet with before commencing a journey or undertaking:—

නල මුදු සුවද පිරිකුමු මිසුරු අඹගෙ	භි
සුල හෙල කුසුම ලිය පියකෙපල රන්කෙ	භි
සල සුදු සෙමෙර සේසත් ගිජුනොදවා	භි
බල සුබ නිමිති පෙරමග නැකනවත්වා	භි

Literally translated it runs thus :—

Observe the following omens, and if met with they are far better than even consulting a good planet:—

- 1 A soft and balmy breeze,
- 2 A pitcher filled with water,
- 3 Peacocks, or sweet mangoes,
- 4 Full-blown white flowers,
- 5 A sweet-spoken woman,
- 6 A gold vessel,
- 7 Waving white *chāmara*,
- 8 White umbrellas,
- 9 Elephants inflamed with ichor.†

The following Sanskrit stanza, from a miscellaneous work on morals *Pratya-ślōkaya* [ප්‍රත්‍යශ්ලෝකය] also enumerates good omens:—

කන්‍යාගො ගෙරිසංඛං දබ්ඵලකුසුමං, පාවකං දීප්‍යමානං  
ගංගානිරප්‍ර සුකතං ගගනජ වාහනං, පුෂ්පකුමාරං ධවජංවා  
ලත්සවිකාවා බෙමනුමි. ජලවරසුගලං, සුධම්‍යනං සෘනංවා  
වෙශ්‍යා සත්‍රී මාංස ඛණ්ඩං ප්‍රියතින වචනං, මංගලම් ප්‍රසතුතානාම්

† See Macready's translation. (Colombo, 1865), Stanza XV., p. viii.

“Look at thine outset for auspicious signs

E'en better than the *nehata*, white fans

Waving, umbrellas white, King elephants,

White flowers in fullest bloom, and sweet-voiced maids,

Gold pictures, gentle breezes perfumed ;

O'erflowing cars, peacocks, and mango fruits.”—*Hon. Sec.*



*Translation.*

It is lucky for a man or a woman on starting on a journey to meet the following objects, viz.:—

- |                                 |  |
|---------------------------------|--|
| 1 Virgins,                      | 12 Bullocks,                               |
| 2 A milch cow,                  | 13 A pitcher filled with water,            |
| 3 A tom-tom,                    | 14 Flags,                                  |
| 4 A conch shell,                | 15 <i>Sésat</i> placed on elevated ground, |
| 5 Curdled milk,                 | 16 Two strings of fresh fish,              |
| 6 Fruit,                        | 17 White boiled rice,                      |
| 7 Flowers,                      | 18 Cow ghee,                               |
| 8 A flame of fire,              | 19 A harlot,                               |
| 9 A person after his ablutions, | 20 Fresh meat,                             |
| 10 Horses,                      | 21 Sweet words.                            |
| 11 Elephants,                   |  |

The following Sanskrit stanzas are found in a similar work, and describe certain good and bad omens in connection with reptiles, birds, and beasts:—

වමනං ශකුතො යාති  
 දිශොවමං ප්‍රසාදිව  
 ශිව කාක කපොතාශව  
 දෘෂ්ණමි යානනි චේත්ශුභං

*Translation.*

If, on starting on a journey, a house lizard should cry on your left, or if a bird, a reptile, jackals, crows, or pigeons cross from the left to the right, it is unlucky; if from the right to the left, it is lucky.

මක කෙලාවලිපතං භූජගමහිමුඛං, මුක්තකෙශංච නගනම්  
 වෘධායං ජනනාසම් ජටමකුටධරං, පංකලිපතප්‍රලාපං  
 රික්තං කුමංච කාශ්ඨං කලහ මහිමුඛං, පුෂ්පරතනංචවසුමි  
 ප්‍රසාදනප්‍රසාදනානාම් භවති මහිමුඛං, නාසනිවෘත්ති පුරුෂාම්

*Translation.*

It is unlucky to meet with the following objects, viz.:—

- 1 One besmeared with clay or oil,
- 2 A cobra,
- 3 One with dishevelled hair,
- 4 Naked persons,

- 5 The aged,
- 6 Noseless and blind persons,
- 7 People with clotted hair,
- 8 People covered with mud,
- 9 A gossip, or one given to nonsensical talk,
- 10 Empty pitchers,
- 11 Dried wood ( faggots ),
- 12 Noisy and quarrelsome people,
- 13 Red flowers,
- 14 Red garments.

Amongst the Sinhalese or Malabars, any person sneezing suddenly before commencing any work, taking any food or drink, or starting on a journey, allows a short interval to elapse before he begins his undertaking. But according to the following stanzas, extracted from a Medical Miscellany, it appears that in every case a sneeze from every person cannot be considered as prognosticating an omen of ill :—

සූනුනු සමනන නං කාශයිං  
 හොසුනං මරණං හමෙත්  
 වෘඳි පිනස බාලානාමි  
 මබලං කපිනං පරෙරු

*Translation.*

Observe the sneezing of a healthy person. The sneezing of delicate or lean persons and that of cattle forebodes death. Regard not the sneezing of the aged, sufferers from disease of the nose, and children.

පුරවේ නිසසො අගනිංව මෘතයු  
 සාමො විනාශො තෙනෙය්ව හානි  
 වරුණෙව ලාහො වායුංව සිඛිමි  
 සෙමෙව විජයෙසු ඵෙයානා ලාහා

*Translation.*

Sneezing from the

East forebodes want of success;

South-east, death;

South, destruction or ruin;

South-west, calamities;

West, profit;

North-west, success in whatever one is about to undertake;

North, victory;

North-east, profit.

The following formula is not unfrequently used in ascertaining the indications of the cry of a lizard, or of the result of a journey or other undertaking. This performance is invariably accomplished by the aid of a second person, the operator.

The operator arranges on the floor, in any order he chooses, eight pebbles, without letting the enquirer know which pebble he put down first. The operator then calls upon the enquirer to hold or touch any pebble he selects, and commences to recite a portion of the following stanza, from a discourse of Buddha called *Ashtalōka Dharmmaya*, [අෂ්ටලෝකධර්මය], word by word, till he comes to the pebble held or touched by the enquirer, and the result is then ascertained and communicated:—

ලාභො අලාභො අයසෝ යසෝච නිජා පසංසාච සුඛංච දුක්ඛං.

*Translation.*

Profit,	—	Loss :
Misery or poverty,	—	Prosperity or happiness :
Disgrace,	—	Praise or encomium :
Health,	—	Sorrow.

The cry of the house lizard, or the cawing of a crow close to a person or a dwelling, is regarded as ominous of either good or evil, and deductions from such occurrences are detailed in two little works (lately corrected and published by one Hisvēllé Paṇḍit) used as handbooks of reference by *Nekettās*, or astrologers, called *Suhunu-śāstraya* [සුහුනුශාස්ත්‍රය] and *Kapuṭu-śāstraya* [කපුටුශාස්ත්‍රය]—the “Science of Lizards” and the “Science of Crows.” Much reliance and faith are placed in these omens, and this feeling is in many instances shared by the more intelligent and educated natives.

The age of the above works, unfortunately, cannot be ascertained. I give below extracts with literal translation which I trust will be as amusing as they are interesting:—

### සුමුහු ගාසත්‍රය.

#### SCIENCE OF LIZARDS:

#### ඉඳිදම සුනා රත්වත් පාටසි.

නැගෙන ඉර නම් රජ කථාවක්	කියයි
ගිනි කොණින් නම් අසන්නෝසයක්	කියයි
දකුණු දිගින් නම් සන්නෝසයක්	කියයි
නි රි න න ම මලඅස්නයක්	කියයි
බස්නාඉරනම් ගියලන් සන්යකින් එනි	කියයි
ව ය ඔ න ම ගිනි භයක් වෙයි	කියයි
ල තු ර න ම සත්‍රීලාභයක් වෙයි	කියයි
ඉසානේ නම් දුකක් හෝ ලෙඩක්	කියයි

#### සඳුදම සුනා ගජවංසයී දකුණබලාඉදි.

නැගෙන ගිරින්නම් යහපත් නැයෙක් එනි	කියයි
ගිනි කොණින් නම් ලෙඩක්	කියයි
දකුණු දිගින් නම් නැස්මක්	කියයි
නි රි න න ම නැයෙක් එනි	කියයි
බස්නා ඉරනම් ගිනි භයක්	කියයි
ව ය ඔ සත්‍රියක් එනිල ගියොත් සම්බවෙයි	කියයි
ල තු ර යාලුවෙක් එනි	කියයි
ඉසාන ලාභයක් හෝ රජකථාවක් හෝ	කියයි

#### අගහරුවාදම සුනා ගොසිකුලසී මමනබලාඉදි.

නැගෙන ඉරනම් වසතු නැස්මක්	කියයි
ගිනි කොණ නැයෙක් එනි	කියයි
දකුණු දිග ලෙඩක්	කියයි
නිරිත වසතු ලාභයක්	කියයි
බස්නාගිර යහපත් අයෙක් එනි	කියයි
ව ය ඔ සත්‍රියක් එනි	කියයි
ල තු ර රජකථාවක් හෝ සහෝදරකථාවක්	කියයි
ඉසාන සොර භයක් වෙයි	කියයි

**බදදාම සුනා රතුවන්පාට මුසුසි.**

නැගෙන ඉර සන්තෝසයක්	කියයි
ගිනිකොණ සනියකින් ඉනා මහත් සන්තෝසයක්	කියයි
දකුණුදිග ලෙඩක්	කියයි
නිරිත දබරයක්	කියයි
බස්නාඉර සනියකින් නදබල ලෙඩක්	කියයි
වයඹ සර්ව ලාභයක්	කියයි
උතුර යහපත් ලාභයක් හෝ වැස්සක්	කියයි
ඉසාන ලෙඩක්වත් මලඝස්නයක්වත්	කියයි

**බෑහස්පනින්දාම සුනා රතුවන් සුදු පාටයි.**

නැගෙන හිරනම් නැස්මක්	කියයි
ගිනිකොණ නම් කැමක් ගෙනෙති	කියයි
දකුණ රජ කථාවක්	කියයි
නිරිත සන්තෝසයක් හෝ වැස්සක්	කියයි
බස්නාහිර මිත්‍රයෙක් එති	කියයි
වයඹ රජ කථාවක්	කියයි
උතුර වසතු නැස්මක්	කියයි
ඉසාන රජ භයක් හෝ මලඝස්නයක්	කියයි

**සිකුගදාම සුනා නිල් සහ කළුවන් පාටයි.**

නැගෙනඉරනම් සන්තෝසයක් හෝ දෙපාට කැමක්	ගෙනෙයි කියයි
ගිනි කොණනම් ලාභයක්	කියයි
දකුණ සන්තෝසයක්	කියයි
නිරිත දුර ආරංචියක්	කියයි
බස්නාඉර සතුනියක් වෙති	කියයි
වයඹ මලඝස්නයක් කියා එති	කියයි
උතුර මරණ භයක් වෙති	කියයි
ඉසාන මලඝස්නයක් කියා එති	කියයි

**සෙනසුරාදාම සුනා නිල් පාටයි.**

නැගෙන ඉර නැකෙනෙක් එති	කියයි
ගිනි කොණ සන්තෝසයක්	කියයි
දකුණ යහපත් අයෙක් එති	කියයි
නිරිත දුර ආරංචියක්	කියයි
බස්නාඉර ගිය උත් සනියකින් එති	කියයි
වයඹ පණිවිඩයක් කියා එති	කියයි
උතුර නම් කලහාවක්	කියයි
ඉසාන මරණ භයක්	කියයි

*Translation.*

On *Sunday* the lizard appears of a golden hue. If the lizard cry this day from the—

East, it forebodes State news or some intelligence connected with high authorities;  
South-east, disagreeable news;  
South, pleasant news;  
South-west, intelligence of death;  
West, the return in a week of those that have gone on a journey;  
North-west, an alarm from fire;  
North, the obtaining of a wife;  
North-east, sorrow or sickness.

On *Monday* the lizard is of the Royal caste, and will be found looking towards the South. If a lizard cry this day from the—

East, it forebodes the arrival of a good relative;  
South-east, sickness;  
South, death;  
South-west, the advent of a relative;  
West, alarm from fire;  
North-west, the meeting with a woman if one go in search of one;  
North, the arrival of a friend;  
North-east, profit, or State news.

On *Tuesday*.—This day the lizard is of the Vellála caste, and will be found looking towards the North. If the lizard cry this day from the—

East, it forebodes the loss of riches;  
South-east, the arrival of a relative;  
South, sickness;  
South-west, obtaining riches;  
West, the arrival of one who is good;  
North-west, the arrival of a female;  
North, State news, and intelligence of an absent brother;  
North-east, an alarm from robbers.

*Wednesday.*—This day the lizard is of a reddish hue. If it cry this day from the—

- East, it forebodes pleasant intelligence ;
- South-east, very joyous intelligence within a week;
- South, sickness;
- South-west, a quarrel;
- West, a severe ailment within a week;
- North-west, obtaining a wife;
- North, profit or rain;
- North-east, sickness, or intelligence of death.

*Thursday.*—This day the lizard is of a reddish-grey colour. If it cry this day from the—

- East, it forebodes death;
- South-east, a present of food;
- South, State news;
- South-west, something to gladden, or rain;
- West, the arrival of a friend;
- North-west, State news;
- North, loss of riches;
- North-east, an alarm from legal procedure, or intelligence of death.

*Friday.*—This day the lizard is of a dark bluish colour. If it cry this day from the—

- East, it forebodes an occurrence to give pleasure, or a present of some food of two colours;
- South-east, advantage;
- South, something gladdening;
- South-west, news from a distance;
- West, praise;
- North-west, an arrival with an intimation of death;
- North, mortal fear;
- North-east, an arrival with an intimation of death.

*Saturday*.—This day the lizard is of a greenish hue. If it cry this day from the—

East, it forebodes the arrival of a relative;  
 South-east, something cheerful;  
 South, arrival of a good person;  
 South-west, news from a distance;  
 West, the return within a week of those who have gone;  
 North-west, an arrival bringing a message;  
 North, a quarrel;  
 North-east, mortal fear.

As it is difficult to ascertain the actual direction from which the cry of a lizard proceeds, and in many instances impossible, the *Nivittás* or soothsayers adopt the following short method to find the good or evil consequences of the cry of a lizard or a woodpecker, or the cawing of a crow close to a dwelling:—

කාකයෙක්වත් සුහු කැරැල් ඇඹුපියවර මැනබල	ත්තේ
කිපයක්වත් නිබු ගණනට නෙලෙසකුත් එක්කරගනිත්තේ	
කිපයක්වත් නිබු ගණනින් සනින් සන ගැණ හරි	ත්තේ
ලාබ දුන් සැප කැවිලි මිතුරන් මලෙසුන් එති කිය	ත්තේ
එක සුදු මිසුරු දෙකනම් අසුබ වේ	ම ය
තුණෙන් සතුටු සකරෙන් දබරවි	ම ය
සහෙන් සැප ලාබවේ සය සමන	ම ය
සහෙන් මරණ වේමය බොරු නොවේ	ම ය

### *Translation.*

As soon as you hear the cawing of a crow, or the cry of a lizard, or that of a woodpecker (near your habitation), measure your shadow in the sun and ascertain the actual number of paces. To this add 13 and divide by 7. The result must show either gain or profit, sorrow or misery, joy or happiness, food, friends, and lastly, an intelligence of a death. If the remainder be 1, it indicates the obtaining of something of a whitish colour, or sweet in flavour; if 2, it is bad; if 3, something to gladden; if 4, a quarrel; if 5, happiness and gain; if 6, the mean between good and bad; if no remainders, death.



Besides the deductions of omens from reptiles, &c., already described, the falling or dropping, from a height, of a lizard, a cobra, a *hikanalá*, a blood-sucker or a chameleon, or a rat, on the body of any person is thus described:—

සු න න් නයිත් සිකනල් කටුසු මි ස	න
ඊවි දින මුදුනෙන් වැටුනොත් ජයක් ව	න
සඳු දින වැටුන කමහට මරණයි කිය	න
අඟ හරු දිනේ නම අඹු නසිය කියද	න
බුදු ශනි ගුරු මෙනුන් දින කමහට මර	ණ
කිවි දින නම් රට ඇර යනි කිවු පොර	ණ
සත් දින සතූන් වැටුනා දූන ගුණ අගු	ණ
සිත්ලෙස කියන් නිවරදි තොරතුරු ඇදි	ණ

*Translation.*

If on Sunday, it is a prognostication of victorious results in his projects and intentions ;

If on Monday, Wednesday, Thursday, or Saturday, it is fatal to him ;

If on Tuesday, it is fatal to his wife ;

If on a Friday, it prognosticates his being obliged to quit his native country.

මෙ කි සතූන් වැටුනොත් දූන දකුණු දෙ	ස
රැ කි යන තරම් දන ලැබෙලු පෙර බ	ස
තොකි මහත් දුක් විදිනේලු වම්දෙ	ස
ස කි මෙබස් කිය සන වෙනෙහි කර නො	ස

Should these animals fall on the *right* hand side of any person he will gain or inherit riches which will last as long as he lives: if on the *left* hand side, it forebodes inexpressibly great evil.

The cry of the lizard, woodpecker, and the cawing of a crow is only ominous when one starts from home on a journey, projects a work, or is about to express an opinion, or when about to ask for something, or give an order—in fact when about to do or think of anything of utility.

## කපුටු ශාස්ත්‍රය.

## SCIENCE OF CROWS.

කාකයා අඩයි උදෙසේ ඉදිරිඳු	ද
සෝ ක රෝග මරණද කලහ වෙයි න	ද
ලාභසන්තෝස වෙයි ඉර මුදුන්මැ	ද
ලා බ මිතුරු එනි නැ සවස කල හ	ද
උදය කපුටු රිවි මුහ දෙස බලාඉ	ද
නදය කලොත් බියදුක් සැලසේය න	ද
මැදය ඉරමුදුන එන මිතුරු දක්ම	ද
සවස නදහිලැබු මේ පලය කිමව	ද
රුක තු ර මුදුන නදකල රජ දකුම්ලැ	බේ
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ඉඳුර වැ සි පුලං දකිණට වේස ඉ	බේ
පැල දෙ ස ඇඬිනමි මිතුරු දකිණ ලැ	බේ
වසම් ඉසා හෙත් රිවි මුවට පාමි	න
ම ල කණුවකඉද ඇඬිනමි ගුණ අගු	ණ
ලේ මස්වන් පුදු කැමක් ගෙණෙනි ද	ණ
දු ර සිට නැකෙණෙක් එනි තුන් දවසකි	ණ
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හිනි කොණ මල රුකෙක ඉදගණ ඇඬුක	ලා
මරණ ලෙඩ කි සැරගමනකි කිවේ බ	ලා
කතුන්තුන්මසින් නසිනෙයි නොවි මු	ලා

## Translation.

Should a crow caw opposite to you in the *morning*, it forebodes great sorrow and sickness, death or trouble : if in the *noon*, profit, gain, and pleasure : if in the *evening*, gain, and arrival of friends and relatives.

Should it caw in the *morning* looking towards the sun, great sorrows, sickness, troubles and death, await you: if in the *noon*, it forebodes the arrival of a friend : if in the *evening*, obtaining something profitable.

Should a crow caw (near your dwelling) perched on the uppermost branches of a tree, you will see and converse with a great personage, obtain a present of food, witness the arrival of friends, or experience destruction, sorrow or death; if from the *east*, rain or wind : if from the *west*, the meeting of a particular friend.

If it caw from the *north-west*, or *north-east*, looking towards the sun, and perched on a dead tree or a tree without branches, it forebodes the obtaining of meat just killed, or food of whitish colour, and the arrival of a friend within three days.

Should a crow caw from the *south-east*, perched on the withered stump of a tree looking towards one's face whilst taking meals, it forebodes death, sickness, a sudden journey, or certain death to his wife within three months.\*

To proceed—

ඉස්මුදුනේ පැහැරුව සුඛ සැපත් ව	න
කොන්ද දෙවුර පැහැරුව සැපත බෝව	න
දහ පිටි පතුල මරණට කල් ලගයි එ	න
කියන් කපුටු පැහැරැගුණ අගුණ ද	න

#### Translation.

Should a crow drop its dung on the head of a person it is a sign of great happiness and comfort ere long: if on the small of the back, or on either of the shoulders, the sign of great happiness and comfort likewise: but if on either of the knees, or on the instep, it is a prognostication of the speedy approach of his death.

The sudden entrance to any dwelling of certain beasts, birds, and reptiles likewise is considered as a sign of evil, shown from the following stanza, which I quote from a work called *Golalipata Namadiya* [ගොලලිපත නමදිය.]

\* So Sidrophel to Hudibras :—

“Is it not om’nous in all countries,

When crows and ravens croak upon trees.”—*Hon. Sec.*

එකකො ලූක ජමුකා  
 භූජගා මේස පඤ්ඤා  
 කොකිලා කාක වණ්ඩාලා  
 ප්‍රවේශ ගත නාශනම්

*Translation.*

Toucans; Owl; Jackals; Cobras; Swallow; Indian cuckoo;  
 Crows; Outcasts. The entrance of any of these into any  
 human dwelling forebodes its ruin.

The howling of dogs, jackals, the hooting of an owl from the roof of a house, and the screech of the *Ulamá* or devil-bird near a dwelling-house are considered omens of sickness, sorrow, calamity, or death.

If a dog happen by some means to climb on to the roof of a house, it is considered as the harbinger of much evil, sorrow, and even death to the family; and the inmates of such houses invariably abandon them at once to avert the evil consequences.

I have known two instances in which very fine houses, built in the Kandyan style—one belonging to a very intelligent and well-informed Ratémahatmayá, the other to a Basnáyaka-*Nilamé*, the latter living within six miles of Kurunégala—were abandoned and eventually allowed to fall into ruins in consequence of a dog having been discovered on the roof.

As one is about to start on a journey or commence any undertaking, a dog flapping its ears is also proverbially known as ominous of bad luck.

It is said that a dog belonging to a member of the household of the last Kandyan King, located near the store rooms of the *Daḷadā Máligáwa*, on one occasion got into the *Pattirippuma* (the octagon), and that the Royal astrologers regarded this as an evil omen that would bring ruin upon His Majesty and his possessions ere long. Strange as the coincidence may be, before the expiration of three months the King, hearing of

the approach to Kandy of the British troops, had to abandon his throne and kingdom and betake himself to the jungles, where he was captured with his wives, and subsequently transported.

This belief in omens being identified with domestic life and shared alike by the high and low, is deeply rooted in the native mind, and although the benefits of education and civilization are (aided by the strenuous efforts of the Missionaries) enlightening the masses, it will be long before these superstitions cease to exercise powerful influence over the every-day life of the Sinhalese.\*

---

\* "They are very superstitious in making observations of any little accidents as *Omens* portending good to them or evil. Sneezing they reckon to import evil. So that if any chance to sneeze when he is going about his business, he will stop, accounting he shall have ill success if he proceeds. And none may sneeze, cough, nor spit in the King's presence, either because of the ill-boding of those actions, or the rudeness of them, or both. There is a little creature much like a lizard which they look upon altogether as a prophet, whatsoever work or business they are going about; if he cries, they will cease for a space, reckoning that he tells them there is a bad planet rules at that instant. They take great notice in a morning at their first going out, who first appears in their sight: and if they see a white man, or a big-bellied woman, they hold it fortunate: and to see any decrepit or deformed people as unfortunate." (Knox, "An Historical Relation of Ceylon, &c.," p. 64, London, 1681. See, too, Selkirk's "Recollections of Ceylon," pp. 402-3, 1844, and Archæological Notes (*Folk-lore, omens, &c.*) by M. J. Walhouse in Ind. Ant., Vol. V., p. 21, 1876.),—*Hon. Sec.*

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*EDITED BY THE HONORARY SECRETARY.*

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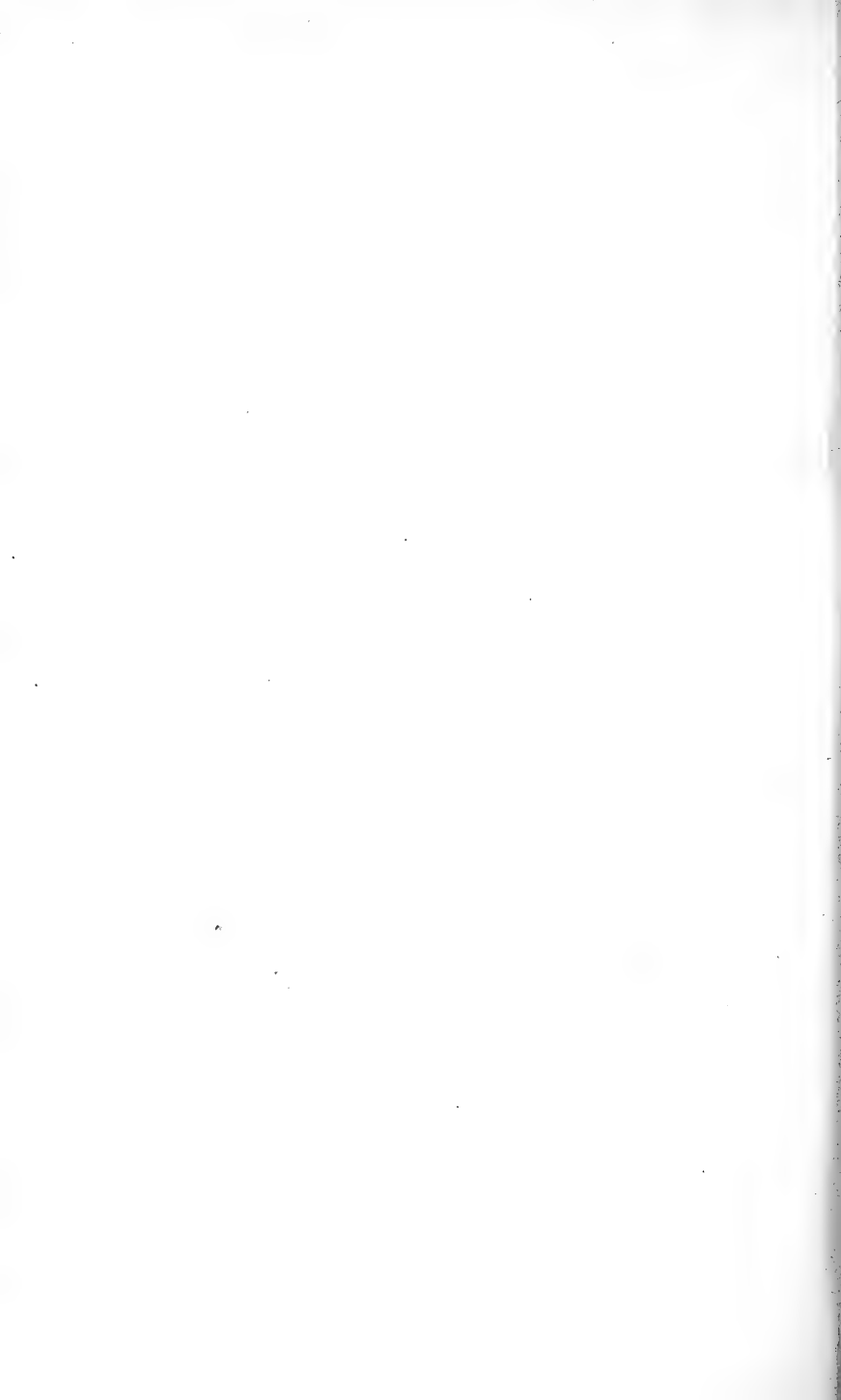
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# ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

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## CEYLON BRANCH.

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### NIRVĀNA.

BY PROF. M. M. KÜNTÉ.

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*The sources of information.—A position stated.—Summary of the differences between the Buddhists and the Védicis.—The platforms of the politics of exclusion and absorption or the Védic and the Buddhistic politics.—The cardinal principle of Yéga and the cardinal doctrine of Gautama Buddha.—The Naimisyaka forest and its ascetics.—The Jainas or conservative rationalists.—The philosophical pleaus.—The radical rationalists or Buddhists.—The Buddhistic method.—Its results.—The determining causes of the Buddhistic stand-point stated.—The ground-basis of Buddhism or A'riya Sachcha and the Indian system of Yógo.—Buddhistic attitude towards the Védic, Védántic and Jaina systems.—Updi-sésa-Nibbána.—Anupádi-sésa-Nibbána.—Perfect Nirvána stated.—Conclusion.*

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I. *The sources of information cannot be too carefully and critically investigated, sifted, analyzed, and tabulated. The feeling of Nirvána is hinted at in the Upanishad literature.\* It is frequently mentioned in the Bráhmaṇic Puráṇas.† In the*

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\* See for instance the Upanishad (Muṇḍaka III. 2. 6.) where the commentator explains Nirvána.

† See the Bhágavat Puráṇa, Vishṇu Puráṇa.

Tantra literature it occurs as a concrete fossilised ceremony\* In the Bhágavat Gítá, the scriptures of all the sects of the Hindús, Nirváṇa is the predominant aspiration† ; it is cherished by the present generation of the pious Hindús ; it is a prominent idea in their sacred music.‡

There are two schools of Jainas—the Digambara and Svétambara ; both propound a view of Nirváṇa. The ground-basis of their theology and metaphysics is the same as that of the Buddhists.§ But they do not carry their doctrines to all their consequences. Rationalistic in their feeling and aspiration, they are to a certain extent conservative in their practices and customs. Their literature || is extensive, intricate, and varied—a literature which throws a great deal of light upon the subject of Nirváṇa.

Nirváṇa is a central doctrine of Buddhistic theology and metaphysics. The Buddhistic literature of Népála, the Tibetan Buddhistic literature, the Burmah Buddhistic literature, the Chinese Buddhistic literature, the Ceylon Buddhistic literature—all these have been opened up to scholars by Brian Hodgson, by Cosmo Körös, by Bigandet, by Beal and by Hardy.

Indian Buddhism, though extinct as a living system, is still important on account of the writings of the different A'cháryas of the different schools. The dicta uttered by the Yóga-cháryas, the Sontrantikas the Vaibhásikas, and the

\* In the Agni Purápa this ceremony is described because it is an attempt at an Encyclopædia of the Bráhmaṇic science, history and philosophy.

† See (V. 25. and VI. 15.) of the Bhágavat Gítá.

‡ See an Abhanga of Tukáram :—Nirvaṇichá eka Pāṇduranga. See the Prabodha Chandrodaya which describes the doings of Chatainya of Bengala.

§ The Jainas recognize karma or eternal activity as the Bauddhas do. They discard the notion of god and sacrifice as the Bauddhas do. They believe in the eternity of religious truth which they state is revealed from time to time as the Bauddhas do. They uphold the doctrine of metempsychosis as the Bauddhas do. Both maintain pain to be positive.

|| There are large Jaina libraries in Ahmadábád, and in some towns of the Karnatic.



Mádhymikas are found scattered in the polemical literature of the Bráhmaṇas, such as the writings of Kumáрила Bhaṭṭa.\*

Though the researches of eminent scholars have accomplished much in elucidating the subject of Buddhistic Nirvāṇa, yet the water sheds of Bráhmaṇic, Jaina, and Buddhistic literature are not reached and investigated. What is known is, however, sufficient to show the series of transformations the doctrine of Nirvāṇa has passed through between 1,000 B. C. (the time of the Upanishad literature), and 1,200 A. D. (the time of Bráhmaṇic and Jaina revival.)

II. *A position stated.*—A doctrine like that of Nirvāṇa, accepted and acted upon by the masses of people in different countries of the world, is not a mere accident; it is a growth determined by the environment of those who maintain the doctrine—an environment involving historical conditions and circumstances, and originating in a many-sided revolution. Buddhism is a popular revolt against the exclusive A'ryan conquerors. It is a rebellion of the proleteriat against the upper classes. It is the polity of absorption determined to upset the polity of exclusion. It is the masses (Saṅgha) in opposition to the upper classes (Udgha). It is a socialistic movement against the hereditary aristocracy of ancient India and its prior rights. The sequel will elucidate and support this view of Nirvāṇa.

III. *Summary of the differences between the Buddhists and Védists.*—There were conservative and liberal A'ryas†; the former attempted to exclude half-castes from their schools: the latter encouraged them to learn and gave them instruction.‡ The Saṅgha or a class—consisting of the A'ryanized non-A'ryas, half-castes and degenerated A'ryas—was distinguished from the higher classes or genuine A'ryas§. The leaders of the Saṅgha gradually grew in intelligence and pressed forward, claiming

\* See Mádhava Sáyaṇa's Sarva Darśana Saṅgraha, which offers a summary of their doctrines.

† The Púrva Mímāṃsá (VI. 1, 26, 27.)

‡ Chhándogya Upanishad (IV. 4, 1.)

§ Páṇini's Sūtras (III. 3, 86.)

admission into the A'ryan polity. The Nisháds\* declared that they could perform sacrifices as the A'ryas did. Sacrifice was the soul of all A'ryan thought, feeling and activity; and none but the genuine A'ryas could perform it.† The learned A'ryas either favoured or opposed the Nisháds; there were thus philo-Nisháds and anti-Nisháds. The conservative A'ryas restricted or sought to restrict the rights of women,‡ declaring that they could not possess property of their own, that they could not learn in schools, that they could not live independently of the joint-family. The A'ryan laws bore hard on the non-A'ryas, and on the half-castes§; even a distinctive costume was prescribed.|| Impressed with the conviction that the A'ryan gods were powerful and prompt in granting prayers, and that A'ryan institutions conferred superiority and contributed to comforts of this life, the Sangha naturally desired to adopt the forms and modes of A'ryan worship, to live as the A'ryas lived, and to enjoy themselves as the A'ryas did.¶ They were systematically suppressed; and the Sangha was agitated. Vexed and alienated by the superciliousness of Bráhmaṇa priests, the Kshatriyas dissented, and condemned the Védic polity of exclusion.\*\* Some of the Vaiśyas necessarily sympathised with the Kshatriya princes.†† The Sangha persisted in asserting their rights, but failed in securing them. The conflict between the genuine A'ryas and the Sangha terminated in a revolution. Buddhism came.

\* The Púrva Mímáṃsá (VI. 1, 51.) and the Káliya Shronta Sūtra (I. 1, 12.)

† The Taittiriya Bráhmaṇa (I. 2, 1, 26.)

‡ The Púrva Mímáṃsá (VI. 1, 6 and 8.)

§ The Upakriṣṭa and the Rethakára.

|| The costumes of the Bráhmaṇas and Kshatriyas are definitely described. They could not assume this.

¶ See the Prasiddhi-iṣṭi or the ceremony of an A'ryan girl being *out*: "Indra grants us wealth and breaks the spells of Dasius" is the burden of Védic hymns.

\*\* The lives of such Kshatriyas as Janaka. The internecine war between the Bráhmaṇas and the Kshatriyas.

†† The Jainas in India are mostly Vaiśyas.

IV. *The platforms of the politics of exclusion and absorption or the Védic and Buddhistic politics.*—The doctrine of worldliness was systematized. It was distinctly stated that the duties of man—or rather A'ryan man—were to live in happiness here and hereafter ;\* but perfect liberty to do as one pleased was not sanctioned. The Vēda was recognised as a code† of ethical, social, and political conduct—the eternal Vēdas.‡ Truthfulness as among the A'ryas themselves was recognized as a binding and paramount duty.§ Worldly happiness was identified with heaven ; and worldly happiness in its variety could be secured, they believed, by performing duly their sacrifices in conformity with the Vēda.|| Gods like Indra or Mitra favoured their exclusive privileges, and it was a special privilege of the A'ryas to lord it over the whole world and specially over the non-A'ryas.¶ The reformers made a new departure : they condemned worldliness, and opposed to it spirituality : \*\* they condemned exclusion and opposed to it universal benevolence : they condemned sacrifice and its arrogant superiority and opposed to it spiritual contrition of the heart : they condemned caste and opposed to it universal brotherhood : the schools were opened to all who sought instruction. A distinction was made between individuality, local in its grasp and earthly in its aspirations, and universality, disclosing transcending views, and inspiring by its deep spirituality. This is the first view of Nirvāṇa—a condition of positive spiritual bliss as distinguished from worldly happiness or temporal power or secular privileges. The Védic sacrifice pre-supposed worldly prosperity and encouraged secularity.†† The Védic Ārya sought happiness by acting on external nature and his surroundings. The reformer or the A'rya of the

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\* The Pūrva Mīmāṃsā (VI. 1, 1, 3.)

† *Id.* (I. 1, 2.)

‡ *Id.* See the discussion in (I.)

§ This is inculcated or was interpreted from Tai. S. (II. 5. 5, 6.)

|| The Pūrva Mīmāṃsā system.

¶ See the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (IV. 3. and VII. 29.)

\*\* The Upanishads teem with utterances in support of these statements.

†† The Pūrva Mīmāṃsā (VI. 1, 10.)

Upanishads sought spiritual bliss by controlling his passions, and checking his aspirations.\* The one felt that bliss, repose, or tranquility was out in the objects he sought—it was objective : the A'charyá of the Upanishad period felt that tranquility was in himself—it was subjective. The first is systematized in the Púrva Mímáṃsá philosophy : the last in the Yóga doctrine.

V. *The cardinal principle of Yóga and the cardinal doctrine of Gautama Buddha.*—"Oh ! man, control thyself" was the principle which Buddha emphatically propounded and inculcated on his followers.† The Yóga starts and ends with this same statement. ‡ Nibbuti is thus opposed to Pabatti : attachment to life and its pleasures was opposed to asceticism. This is the first view of Nirváṇa—the view of moderate reforming A'charyas who, still revering the Védic polity, aspired beyond it. Their utterances seek to reconcile sacrifices with spirituality, exclusion with absorption. Influenced by the narrowminded, but glorious, past, they rose superior to themselves, and, ascetically disposed and spiritually moved, looked into a future of universal benevolence.§

VI. *The Naimisya forest and its ascetics.*—Either prevented from living in towns or determined to enjoy his ecstatic trance in the solitude of the wilds, the Kshatriya philosopher or the Śudra, fired with spiritual aspirations, retired into the Naimisya forest, and passed his life there, meditating on the essence of all he saw in external nature or of all he felt within himself. He characterized this conduct as *Departure* or Pravrajyá. He earnestly sought the noumenon which underlies and constitutes all phenomena or tatva. Various were the conjectures of such philosophers and ascetics. Some fixed upon air || as

\* The Brihat Aranyaka Upanishad.

† ‡ Compare Viññāṇassa Nirodhena etth' etam uparajjhadi—a dictum of Buddha Gautama and Yogastu Chitta-Vritti-Nirodhah—the Yóga Sūtra (I. 2.)

§ This is the spirit of the Upanishad literature. The distinction between Pará and Apará Vidyá deserves attention (Muṇḍ. I. I. 5.) See again the Muṇḍaka Upanishad (I 2. 2.)

|| Samvarga Vidyá Chhándogya Upanishad (IV. 3, 1.)

the essence of all existence : others resolved matter and mind into light. Some analyzed life, its conditions and circumstances into a spirit in which they lived and moved : others referred their life and its phenomena to spiritual or meditational warmth. Whatever any of these thinkers fixed upon as the ultimate analytical unit or essence, they all agreed in condemning the Védic polity which sanctioned animal sacrifices, and inculcated that worldliness itself was the last goal of all human aspirations. Ahimsá (recognition of all animal life being sacred) was the cardinal point of their belief ; but they did not in a wholesale manner condemn the past. The Védic polity with its devotion to caste, to sacrifice, and to the prior rights which they secured was adjudged to be inferior to the new philosophy,\* the result of the new departure taken by these reforms. If sacrifice deserved attention and recognition, it deserved attention, because it led to contemplation of the essence of all intellectual, moral and physical phenomena.† A systematic attempt was made to interpret anew the utterances of the Rishis known as Mantra, and many Mantras were spiritualized away : worldliness was interpreted into spirituality. Women were freely taught : Gārgí and Maitreyí discoursed on metaphysical subjects with their distinguished husband Yajñañalkya. Young men of doubtful birth were initiated into the mysteries of the new philosophy. Thus the land-marks of the Védic polity were washed off. Aspiration after a new philosophy, earnest spirituality, a spirit of adjustment, new interpretation, a liberality of spirit with which caste and all prior rights were incompatible, distinguished these reformers. Nirvāṇa at this time signified identity and absorption into the unlocalized, universal, subtle essence which pervades all phenomena. A teacher points this out to a pupil :—"That thou art, Somija ‡, that spirit which moves the air, from whose fear the sun regularly shines, and to which death itself is obedient."§ Attached to the Védic polity,

\* Distinction between Pará and Apará Vidyá (Muṇḍ. I, 1, 5.)

† A'dhi Daiyam &c. See Chhándogya (IV. 3, 2.)

‡ Tattvamasi. See *id.* (VI. 8. 7.)

§ Bhīṣo-deteti Sūryah \*\* Mṛityus Dhāvati Panchamah. See the Brāhma Vidá Upanishad (VIII.)

and venerating it, these reformers did not violently denounce it. A modesty\* which earnest enquiry generates, and a love of truth† which results from spiritual emancipation, characterized the period. The Brahmavádins or Védic teachers often explained a four-fold salvation,—(i) dwelling in the same place with a god like Indra,—(ii) dwelling near him,—(iii) obtaining his dignity and form,—(iv) identity with him. ‡ The last was only materially understood by the Védic teachers. These reformers or ascetics gave a spiritual interpretation to it and insisted upon final absorption into the spiritual essence as emancipation or salvation. This is the back-ground of Buddhistic Nirváṇa.

VII. *The Jainas or conservative rationalists.*—The Jainas divided into two classes—the Svétambara and the Digambara, or those wearing white clothes and those who go about naked—are to be found in all parts of India. There are about 2,000 of them in the city of Ahmadábád alone in Gujarát. In this place I cannot discuss the chronology of the Jaina movement, and state the grounds of my belief that the Jainas preceded the Buddhists. The position of the Upanishad reformer was formulated and pressed on the attention of the Védic A'ryas. The conservative sacrificing A'ryas attempted coercion. Anathemas were pronounced: prayers, offered. The reformers, aspiring after deep spirituality and communion with the all-pervading spirit, were stigmatized as lethargic and their doctrine was declared to be "the path of inactivity." The sacrificing A'rya publicly prayed:—"Oh! let my lethargy, or rather my tendency to (moral) sleep, depart to the natives of Vidhea or to contemplative inactive men.§ In the Mahábhárata the condition of society is feelingly depicted. Bhíshma despondingly observes:—"None knows what the truth is. To advance their own interests, selfish men preach to the people what they please."|| The Vaiśyas, little accustomed to think for themselves and disposed

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\* See the story of Nachiketas. See Katha Valli Upanishad.

† Satyam Vakṣi Jáhálah. See Chhándogya Upanishad (IV. 4.)

‡ (i). Salokatá (ii). Samípatá (iii). Sarúpatá (iv). Sáyuja.

§ See the Agnyádhána Prayóga.

|| See the Śánti Parva—the story of a vulture and a jackal.

to respect both the Brāhmaṇa and the Kshatriya, were puzzled by their controversies, and could not understand the conflicting statements made by the orthodox Ārya, or by the secularist\* or by the Upanishad reformer. They, therefore, fell victims to scepticism. Their leaders stigmatized their views and stated their grounds. The logic of scepticism † was thus developed and it would be elucidated by a contrast between the views of the Upanishad reformer and those of the Jaina. The one merely adjusted the importance of a sacrifice and connived at the slaughter of animals : the other was fired by enthusiasm of life—he strongly condemned the slaughter of any animal for any purpose. To the one Védic lore, though a dispensation old and inferior, yet was important as the means of his superior wisdom : the other discarded all notion of revelation. The one believed that an abstract essence—a generality, was real, eternal, and could be cognized : the other declared that a generality was only a kind of knowledge, and its notion was derived from the knowledge of particular facts. The one aspired after absorption into the eternal, all-pervading essence : the other aspired after maintaining his individuality ‡ through eternity. The one believed that all phenomena are only transient and are ultimately to be resolved into Brāhma : the other believed that they are real and eternally abide. The one thought that the universe is either created by or emanated from the Supreme Person : the other discarded all notion of a personal creator. The one was definite in his statements and had resort to the utterances of the Rishis and attempted to interpret them anew to support his views : the other more or less hesitated, but declared that virtue eternally abideth, and that it is revealable by eminent teachers.

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\* Loukáyatika or Chārvāka as popularly known.

† This is called Syád vāda. It states:—Perhaps a thing is—perhaps it is not. Perhaps in sequence of time it is and it is not. Perhaps at once it is and it is not,—this cannot be stated. Perhaps it is and cannot be stated—perhaps it is not, and cannot be stated. Perhaps in sequence of time it is, and it is not, and cannot be at once stated.

‡ This view that every individual object has a spirit is met with in the Zendavesta in its chapter on Farohars.

Equally repelled by the Védic polity, the reformer and the Jaina rose superior to mere materialism of the Brahmavádins, and sympathised with higher spiritual aspirations and virtue as distinguished from mere ritualism. Philosophically sceptic the Jaina was practically conservative; rationalistic in his method and aspirations, he adhered to his caste and believed in the philosophy of metempsychosis which the Védic thinkers had developed. The reformer and the Jaina condemned this life as a perpetual source of pain and misery and aspired after emancipation or Nivritti, consisting in the eternal enjoyment of positive happiness and in escaping the transmigration of soul from life to life—the inevitable consequence of all activity.

VIII. *The philosophical pleaus.*—The activity of the Jainas paved the way of the radical rationalists or Buddhists. The ground-basis of the doctrine of emancipation as propounded by the Upanishad reformer or Védántist, by the Jaina or the conservative rationalist, and by the Buddhist or radical rationalist is the same, because the same cause originated these movements—the opposition to the conquering supercilious Védic A'ryas, their sacrificial exclusiveness, their prior rights, and their all-engrossing worldliness, and materialism. The Védántist, the Jaina and the Buddhist are all world-weary, and seek the cessation of all activity, and its fruit—the transmigration of soul. Activity or Karma is a potent cause. It is eternal: it is accumulated: it adheres to the human spirit: it produces all phenomena: it abides in the peri-spirit or the semi-material body which it gathers about itself. It is either increased or decreased in one life. As soon as the body decays, and is destroyed it leaves it and takes another body. This activity or Karma is a subtle entity. It is the cause of all human suffering: so long as a particle of this activity remains, there will be to that extent human misery. Separation from it is salvation. Thus human activity, human misery, inseparable from it, and its consequence—metempsychosis, explain all phenomena of human life and of its environment. The practice of virtue, the power of contemplation to nullify the habit of belief in material and corporeal existence, and self-abnegation—these are the remedies



for escaping from the trammels of all activity. Thus the Yóga philosophy is developed—the philosophy of contemplation or Dhyána. I cannot explain in this place its different stages, the progress made from one stage to another, the amount of self-abnegation and power over the self secured, and the knowledge or the intellectual light it generates. The material body is gradually left behind, and the Yógi lives a spirit above all worldliness, above the power of the flesh, free from all power of activity, working miracles and enjoying spiritual beatitude. Activity or rather a tendency to it is the disturbing cause—Upádhi. Until a Yógi is completely emancipated, he is in danger of getting into its meshes. Annihilation of all Upádhi is complete emancipation. Upon this ground-basis, all Védántism, Jainism, or Buddhism are built. But the Védántist seeks emancipation from all activity, and practises contemplation and self-abnegation, that the spirit encased in a material body and subject to the power of activity may re-unite with itself in its universality, and being once more unlocalized and universalized, enjoy perfect happiness. The Jaina seeks the emancipation of his individual spirit by the same means and for the same purpose; but he believes that the human spirit maintains its individuality and enjoys happiness for eternity. The Buddhist believes in the power of activity, dreads metempsychosis, practises contemplation and self-abnegation and aspires after emancipation, and yet differs from both the Védántist and Jaina materially. His notion of Nirváṇa will be elucidated by that of the Védántist or Jaina.

IX. *The radical rationalist or Buddhist.*—The Buddhist differed both from the Védántist and Jaina, and made a new departure. The Védántist developed into an isoteric school and moved forward on the lines of the Védic polity, aspiring after being absorbed into a noumenal essence. The Jaina believed in the individuality of the spirit, and had recourse to acts of charity and faith—a situation into which his logic of scepticism landed him. The Buddhist succeeded in organizing a national movement. His activity accomplished a moral-force revolution which subverted the Védic polity itself.

X. *The Buddhist method*.—The Védic A'charyas like A'svaláyana, Páṇini and others, had developed and stated the definition method. Jaimini and Patanjali had developed exegetical logic, stated and applied it. The Jaina had sceptically argued. The definition-method, the exegetical logic and the logic of scepticism paved the way of analytic logic which the Buddhist preferred. He was, therefore, called the analytic reasoner.\* A persistent attempt at analysing, classifying, and defining knowledge was made.

XI. *Its result*.—The Buddhist perceived that the human will was the ultimate analytic unit beyond which he could not proceed. The will was the noumenon from which all he said, thought, and felt was developed. This was the Chitta manas, or Chéetas.† The disparity of human destiny and conditions of human life were explained by the action of accumulated activity or Karma. His realistic analytical reasoning recognized the ideality of knowledge as determined by realistic activity. This will, modified and acted on by Karma or activity or merit, was the basis of which all else was a phase—a quality. But the will ‡ acted on by activity invariably resulted in pain real and cognizable as such. Activity called into existence the will, and modified it. Its modifications are manifold, varied and subtle. The forms of human life and of phenomenal existence were considered to be so many phases of the human will acted on by activity and were not real. Emancipation from misery, the inseparable result of all activity acting on and modifying the will by externalizing it, was the summum bonum. The Buddhist discarded the reality and individuality of the human will and of the external noumenal essence.

\* Vibhajya Vádi.

† The opening lines of Dhammapada, when interpreted from this standpoint, are adequately and consistently adjusted. "Manópubbaṅgamá Dhammá" is a phrase which is not adequately comprehended by those who have attempted to explain it, because they have not carefully examined the antecedents of Buddhism.

‡ The Abhidhamma—the metaphysical portion of the Tipiṭaka recognizes and states Chitta, Chéetasika, Rūpa, and Nibbāna.

XII. *The determining causes ; the Buddhistic stand-point stated.*—The Védántist aspired after the eternal noumenal essence, and submitted to the Védic polity with its caste, and prior rights, though he sought to interpret the Védic code as liberally \* as he could. The Jaina recognised the reality and individuality of the human spirit, the basis of his logic of scepticism. His inactivity and his conservatism, the Buddhist necessarily out grew. Absorbed in profound thought, impelled by introspection, he feelingly believed, and assiduously taught. His view of the human will and of phenomenal existence was thoroughly analytic and the stand-points of the Védántist and Jaina determined his view. The gross feeling or Káma was distinct from form, and form was distinct from the ideal existence of form but not free from action or Kriyá. Beyond this was the life of contemplation, of introspection, of deep absorption, of all freedom from externalization gross or subtle. This is the Kámāvachara, the Rúpāvachara, Arúpāvachara, and Lókuttara, forms of life. In the last there is no action whatever, no Kriyá chittáni, but the Vipáka chittáni are playful, the Chitta or the will as acted on by itself. † To sum up, all gross and pure action and bustle ‡ in the Kámāvachara life ; pure for mal action, but no bustle in the Rúpāvachara life,—abstract ideal action in the Arúpāvachara life ; but peace and inaction are the exclusive privileges of Lókuttara life.

XIII. *The ground basis of Buddhism or the A'riya-sachchas, and the Indian system of Yóga.*—(1) Dukkha sachcham, or suffering in its variety ; (2) Samudaya sachcham, or all life as a development of different analytic conditions ; (3) Dukkha nirodha, or suppression of all thought and feeling of suffering ; and (4) final emancipation.§ Uṭṭhána (Vyutthána) or Pavatti (Pravṛitti) or gross life of mere externalization is common to

\* See the Story of Jábóla in the Chhándogya Upanishad, 4.

† See the 1st Parichheda of the Abhidhammáttha Sangaha.

‡ The term Uṭṭhánam (Vyutthánam in Sanskrit) characteristically expressed this. Yóga was the latter term. Pavatti (Pravṛitti in Sanskrit) is another term.

§ See the 9th Parichheda of the Abhidhammáttha Sangaha.

both Buddhism and Yóga. Both recognize that suffering (Klésa) is the inevitable destiny of humanity, a destiny intensified by the elaborate system of metempsychosis, both state that the Chitta or the heart, the intellect and will—combined and forming one unit—is constantly acted on and modified by activity, and a tendency to externalization, and this is the cause of all suffering. Both proclaim aloud that the suppression of this tendency is the means of happiness.\* The means of accomplishing this suppression are identical in both, intense contemplation† which ends in producing a vision or higher knowledge. ‡ The great point of difference is, the human will is the last unit recognized by the Buddhist, and beyond it he does not go. His notion of the human will corresponds to that of Yóga; but Yóga sees behind the human will a spirit which is essentially identical with the all pervading spirit, but which is enthralled and encased in the human body. This is the Védántist view. The Jaina rejected it and declared the independent individuality of the human spirit, ever independent and ever existing by itself. The Buddhist rejected both as noncognizable by his intense and profound introspection. He knew he saw (Rúpa); he knew he perceived (Védaná); he knew he reflected (Saññá); he knew his mind was acted on by itself, and its activities, and that which its merits and demerits attached to it (Sankhára); he knew he rose superior to all this, and absorbed in contemplation, realised a tranquility and a profundity of feeling (Viññána). Beyond this, § in the realm of infinity of knowledge or *intellection*, he lives, preparing for entering the stream of the great paths. When in this condition, he is above all

\* Notice and compare the following—Yogachitta Vṛitti Niradhah—the second Sūtra of the Yóga Philosophy. (explained in my “Studies in Indian Philosophy.”) and the utterance of Buddha Gotama, “*etassa nirodhana idha' etam nirujjhati.*”

† Samádhi or Jhána. The Buddhist has elaborated this by his analytic reasoning. The Yóga simply states it.

‡ Compare Samápatti in both, and the Ñāṇa Dassana Sámañña phala, Vipassaná Dibbachakkhu of the Buddhist with Rītambbhará Prajñá of the Yógi.

§ A'kásanañcháyatana; Viññánañcháyatana; A'kinchaññáyatana; Nevasaññánañcháyatana.

form : he is conversant with nothing but abstract knowledge ; his will is, however, affected and works.\* His five-fold combination falls to pieces and ceases to exist when he enters the four paths. His intense contemplation and introspection failed him when he attempted to soar higher than this. Nor did he see the necessity of going beyond this. The tendency to externalization inseparable from the will so liable to be affected by external and internal influences, being destroyed, that on which Kamma can act, is destroyed. If nothing beyond the Chitta or the human will or heart in its five Skandhas existed or could be realised, then nothing in the form of noumenal essence would be thought of. The Buddhist began with introspection and ended with it.

XIV. *Buddhistic attitude towards the Védic, Védántist, and Jaina systems.*—He hates the Védic polity, its pantheon, its heirarchy, its exclusiveness, and its prior rights. To him the Védántist goes only half the way, and the Jaina is wrong, and is not able to contemplate and introspect. The Védic polity recognizes the independent eternal individuality of the human spirit.† It is the basis of the Púrva Mímánsá philosophy. Qndulomi had stated it long before Jaimini. The Jaina follows the Védic polity in this, but the Buddhist rejects it as likely to land him in all the absurdities of ritualism and caste as he conceives it. The Védántist recognised eternal noumenal essence consisting in eternal existence joined to intelligence and happiness.† When introspection unlocalized and universalized his inner self or the Chitta, he found himself plunged in a nothingness immeasurably expanding on all sides, transcending all thought, and growing into an infinitude of space and eternity.

XV. *Upádisésa Nibbāna.*—The peri-spirit comes into existence, energises and externalises so long as a tendency to Karma exists. The tendency is annihilated when all desire is vanquished, when a Buddhist has risen superior to the flesh.

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\* Mark the Vipákachitta and Kriyáchitta as explained in the Abhidhamma.

† Sachchidananda. This is the watch-word of all schools of Védántists: it is based on utterances in the Upanishads.

When in this condition a Buddhist is *Jívan Mukta*, one who is emancipated while living, he is *Bhávít A'tman*, one who is unlocalized and universalised. He has yet, however, to live for some time and his accumulated activity is to be consumed by dint of mere living. When the accumulated activity is thus exhausted, he is completely emancipated when he dies, *i.e.*, when his peri-spirit (the *Pañchaskandhas*) fall to pieces, and when it can no longer act. The first condition is characterised as *Upádisésa Nibbāṇam*. A Buddhist is an *Arhat*. He is in the fourth *Rath*. He is a perfect *Yógi*. He can perform miracles. He lives in a condition of beatitude. He lives on the earth merely to live out his last portion of earthly existence. The last condition—the condition of an *Arhat* after his death is characterised as *Anupádisésa Nibbāṇam*. The *Yóga* system of Indian philosophy throws a flood of light on this view of *Nibbāṇa*. A perfect *Yógi* ecstatically declares he has only to pass a few days of his last earthly existence in sportiveness. “Emancipation is my wedded spouse.” \*

XVI. *Anupádisésa Nibbāṇa*.—Perfect *Nibbāṇa* is characterised in the following way by the Buddhists :—“A condition (*Padam*) permanent (*Achchutam*), infinite (*Achchautam*), unconditioned (*Asankhatam*), highest (*Anuttaram*)—*Nibbāṇam* this say the great sages (*Mahesayo*) who are delivered from all desire (*Vānamuktā*).” † I attach some importance to the term *Viharati* ‡ “lives in sportiveness” used in the *Mahānibbāna Sutta*. “Again a *Yógi* free from desire, from the sight of existence, sees the *Sankhára* as nihil ; (sees) the *Skandháyatanāni*, and *Dhátavat* as nihil (both) spiritually and materially ; sees (all) realities distinctly as infinite (*Análāya*) and known by the properties of *ether* (*A'káṣa*) and of the law of Buddha (*Dharma*).” § “Emancipation is the result of the extinction of all desire, the consequence of thought and feeling.” || I have

\* See the *Abhangas* of *Tukárama*.

† See the 6th *Parichhedha* of the *Abhidhammáttha Saṅgaha*.

‡ See page 30 of Childer's edition.

§ See the *Lalita Vistára Chap. XIII*.

|| This statement is made by *Madhav Sáyana*, a scholiast and an authority in Indian Philosophy. See his *Sarva Darśana Saṅgraha—Bauddha Darśana*.

thus brought together the views of Indian and Ceylonese Buddhists, and attempted to throw a side-light upon it from Sanskrit literature.

XVII. *Perfect Nirvāṇa stated.*—It is a negation of all that man, thinks, feels, and wills. So far it is nihilism. It is a negation of all suffering which results from thought, feeling and volition. So far it is nihilism. But suffering according to a Buddhist, a Jaina, or a Védāntist is a positive entity. Happiness he does not recognize as positive. Suffering (Dukkha) is positive and results from localized existence. Both localized existence and suffering are destroyed together. When this is accomplished, unlocalized universalization is emancipation, co-extensive with happiness itself. Suffering is the inevitable result of all localization : happiness—of all universalization. Hence Nirvāṇa is both negative and positive. It is not nihilism. Nirvāṇa is beyond all localization. This is what all the Buddhists state. Reasoning on the basis of introspection alone, and observing the facts as they develope in the inner man, they stated that there are different degrees of localization. Infinity itself, as conceived by man, is localized. Eternity as conceived by man is localized. Hence persistent efforts were made by Buddhists so to soar in contemplation as to rise higher than all conception itself, as to leave behind all thought, feeling, and volition. In the Kāmāvachara all is gross, material, involved in a multiplicity of all that is “frail and feverish ;” above it is the Rúpāvachara, the region of Gods and Divinities. Form is localized, and what is grosser and more material than form is dropped. Beyond the Rúpāvachara is the Arúpāvachara in which form itself is dropped, *i.e.*, left behind. Infinity, eternity, is contemplated. But being the subject of contemplation, it is localized. In the four paths all this is left behind, and all tendency to localization is checked, *i.e.*, destroyed. Existence—substance—that which is the nameless, the formless, the eternal, the infinite, the permanent, the unconditioned has a tendency to be localized. This tendency to be localized is what is called activity or Karma. It is strengthened as it is indulged. The tendency localizes the universal and Panchaskandhas result.

Then there is immediately thought, feeling and volition which are inseparable from suffering. Buddhism does not attempt to state the properties or attributes of the unlocalized—the eternal—because no matter how carefully a statement is made, the fact of statement will localize it. It is, therefore, beyond all statement. It is enough to say—it is Nirvāṇa.

XVIII. *Conclusion.*—Buddhism is an interesting study, scientifically, philosophically, religiously, socially, and politically. *Scientifically*, because science seeks the unification of force and the elements which embody all force ; *philosophically*, because Buddhism discovers to what the psychological method of introspection leads ; *religiously*, because when there are so many Buddhists in the world, not believing in a personal God and not yearning to worship Him the fact of religious instincts of man calls for re-examination and re-statement ; *socially*, because it ignores all ritualism, ceremonies, and social life in its amplitude and minutude, in its materialism and its subtlety of love, and ambition ; and *politically*, because the convent of the Buddhists subverted the Védic polity of caste, sacrifice and prior rights, and justified the aspirations of a proleteriat and placed them on a legitimate basis for the first time in the history of man.

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## TWO SINGHALESE INSCRIPTIONS.

By B. GUNASÉKARA.

## No. 1.

## AT THE RUWANWĒLI DA'GABA.

The translator has not had an opportunity of seeing this Inscription. The translation is made from a photograph\* taken by Capt. Hogg, R.E., for the Ceylon Government.

With regard to the language it may be remarked that, with a few exceptions, it differs little from the modern, but the change is greater in the letters themselves. The translator would propose some new readings of the text and correct a few orthographical errors, noticing words which are rare, or nearly obsolete, in modern Singhalese.

The Queen Līlavatī referred to in the Inscription, was the wife of Kīrti Nissanka of the Kālinga dynasty. According to the Mahāwaṃsa, she ascended the throne in the year 1753 of the Buddhist era, which corresponds with 1210 A. D., and reigned six years. She patronised Buddhism and caused two Vihāra to be built, one at Parnasālaka, the site of the Laṅkātilaka Vihāra, and the other at Wēligama.

## INSCRIPTION.

අභයසලමේවත් කලාණ්ඩවති සුවමිත්වහන්සේට *a* දෙව  
 නු ඇසලපුර එකොලොස්වත් .. ද .. යා නකතිත් සිරිසගබෝ  
 පුරක්කුමබාහු *b* | වසනුවතී සුවාමිත්වහන්සේ *c* ඇතුළුවූ රජ  
 දරුවන්ගේ භාරපරිපාලනයකොට රත්නත්‍රයෙහි අඛිකපු  
 සාද *d* ඇති ශ්‍රී *e* බුද්ධගුණ | ත් සමමිත් රජපුසාද *f* රාජිත්  
 විරාජමානවූ භාරපොතැ පිරිවතුබිම් විජයානාවන්හා මෙ

\* No. 104. Pavement slab, 14·0 x 8·7, in front of S. Altar of the Ruwanwēli Dāgaba.

*a* සුවමිත්වහන්සේට *b* පරාක්‍රමබාහු *c* සුවාමිත් වහන්සේ  
*d* අඛිකපුසාද *e* ශ්‍රී *f* රජපුසාද.

කුගේ අමුදු සුමේ | බාදෙවින්හා මෙකුන්ගේ බැන් ලංකාඅබි  
 කාරකොට දනවු දෙවල්නාවන්හා වැන්දෙනලද අගමබර  
 නොඑක් | පංඨිතවරයන් *g* ගෙන් රුවන්මැලිසුවාමීන්ට දුටුහැ  
 මුණු රජපුරුවන් ආදිවු නොඑක් | රජදරුවන්විසින් කරන  
 ලද පූජා විශේෂ අසා ප්‍රසාද පරවශවැ අනුත්තා අසාබාරණ  
 පු | ජ විශේෂ යක් කළමැනවැසි නානාවිබවු අවදාස් අවසිය  
 අසුවක් පමණ වස්ත්‍රයෙන් විශේ | ෂවු කංචුකයක් බහා වූඩා  
 මණි වෛත්‍ය ප්‍රතිබිම්බ *h* යක්සෙ විශේෂකොටැ සරහා පස්  
 යාලකැ | මණසාලින් සොළොස්මටි(?)ලා අදවා ගනවුපුපු  
 සුගනබදිපයෙන් විවිත්‍රකොටැ පාගේගෙ | වැ(?)බප්පනාකා  
 කදලිතොරණදින් විවිසරහා අනෙක වගිගයෙ කනදසින්  
 හා ක්ෂීරපායාස | යෙන්හා මගොසයක්සෙ පළමුවනමඵවෙ  
 හි නිරන්තරයෙන් සතියක් පූජාකොටැ කපුරු දෙදසක් | ක  
 ලදින් පානතුන්පනපිය වසා වේරියගේ රියගේ කබල්වලැ  
 කපුරු පාන්සුදඇ ගැ ඇතුළුවු නොඑක්.. ස් ප්‍රදිපපූජාදකරවා  
 නොඑක් කමිහාන්ත කළ මෙහෙ කළ | වුත්ව අතට ගල්  
 උබ්බුදුහා රන්පිළිහා උන්අමුබවන්ටද ගදනාපිළිදි උතුසතු  
 වුකරවා | විහාරඤ්ඤාවේ *i* සිටි ලියන්තවුත් සමදරුවන් වණි  
 ණකුවරුන් බමුණන් පසකුන් සිත්තරු | නටන්තන් ගිකියන්  
 නන් බෙරගසන්තන් සකුන්දුරයන් පංචයන් පදෙනියෙ  
 පගේ නහනග | නුන්දමාලෙබැලූ මඟුල්මිංභියන් මාලකා  
 රන් ඔසනාවවුන්වන.. තට (?) ප්‍රසාදයෙන් රනින්ස | තුටු  
 කරවා රුවන්මැලි මඵවෙදිමැ වූපවහ *j* අසා බමිකපික  
 යන්ට සුදුසු පූජාකොට | වූපාඨමස්ථාමීන්ටත් ශ්‍රීමහාබොධින්  
 වහන්සෙටත් කපුරු පහන්පනාකා පූජා ආදිවු නොඑක් | පූජා  
 කරවා සත්ගෙණෙහි තෙරවරුන්වහන්සෙ ප්‍රධානකොටැ  
 වස්නැවන්මහදන්හා සිවු | රුපිළිදි නැ නොනැනෙ සියලු  
 ප්‍රත්‍යයන්ට පින්පෙත්තදෙවා මේ පූජාඇසු මහාජනයාටද න  
 මාටද | බහුල ප්‍රීතිඋපදවා කළපු.....

## TRANSCRIPT.

Abhayasalaméwan Kalyāṇawatī suwamínwahanseṭa<sup>1</sup> dewanu  
 Ḥṣaḷa pura ekoḷoswak .. da .. yá<sup>2</sup> nakatin Siri Sanga Bó Purakkra-  
 ma Báhu<sup>3</sup> | chakkrawarti suwámínwānse<sup>4</sup> eṭuḷuwú rajadaruwangé  
 bhaṇḍára paripálanayakoṭa ratnatrayehi adhikapprasáda<sup>5</sup> eṭi

*g* පංඨිතවරයන් *h* ප්‍රතිබිම්බ *i* විහාරරඤ්ඤාවේ *j* වූපවංස.

ṣardhá<sup>6</sup> Buddhi guṇe | n samawit<sup>7</sup> rājappasāda<sup>8</sup> rāsīn<sup>9</sup> wirāja-  
 mánawú Bhaṇḍárapote Piriwatubím Wijayánáwan há mekugé  
 amadu<sup>10</sup> Sume | dhádevin há mekungé bēn Laṅká Adhikára  
 Koṭadanawu<sup>11</sup> Dewalnáwan<sup>12</sup> há ṭen<sup>13</sup> denalada ágamadhara  
 noek<sup>14</sup> | paṇḍita<sup>15</sup> warayangen Ruwanmeli<sup>16</sup> suwámīnta<sup>17</sup> Du-  
 ṭugemuṇu rajjuruwan ádiwú noek | rajadaruwan visin karanalada  
 pújá wiṣeṣha asá prasāda parawaṣawe anun há asádháraṇa<sup>18</sup>  
 pú | jáwiṣeshayak kaḷameṇaweṇi nánáwidhawú aṭadās aṭasiya asú-  
 wak pamaṇa wastrayen wiṣe | shawú kaṇchukayak bahá chūḍamaṇi  
 chaitya pratibimbayak se wiṣeshakoṭe sarahá pasyāḷake |<sup>19</sup>  
 maṇá sálin soḷosmaṭi (?)<sup>20</sup> lá andawá gandha pushpa sugandha  
 dípayen wichitrakoṭe<sup>21</sup> páné ge | ṭe (?) dhaja patáká kadali toraṇá-  
 dín wíthi sarahá aneka warggaye kana deyin há kshírapáyasa | yen  
 há mahoghayak se paḷamuwana maḷuwehi nirantarayen satiyak  
 pújá koṭe kapuru dedásak | kalandin<sup>22</sup> páta tun pana<sup>23</sup> piyawa  
 sáwé<sup>24</sup> riyané riyané kabalwalekapuru pán puda<sup>25</sup> e | gé eṭuluwú  
 noek .. s<sup>26</sup> pradípa pújá da karawá noek karmmánta kaḷa mehe  
 kaḷa | wunṭa ataṭa gal ebú mundu há ran pilí há un ambuwanṭada  
 handaná pilí dí unu<sup>27</sup> satuṭu karawá | wihárahásháwé<sup>28</sup> siṭi  
 liyannawun samadaruwan<sup>29</sup> waṇṇakuwarun Bamuṇan pasakun<sup>30</sup>  
 sittaru | naṭannan gíkiyannan bera gasannan sakun durayan  
 paṇchayan<sup>31</sup> padeniye<sup>32</sup> pané<sup>33</sup> nahana<sup>34</sup> ga | nun<sup>35</sup> da mále  
 belú mangul miṇḍiyan<sup>36</sup> málákáran osanáwaṭuwantana..nta (?)  
 prasádayen ranin sa | tuṭu karawá Ruwanmeli<sup>37</sup> maḷuwedíme Thú-  
 pawanṣa asá dharmmakathikayanta sudusu pújákoṭa | Thúpárama<sup>38</sup>  
 swámíntat śrī mahá bodhínwahanseṭat kapuru pahan patáká  
 pújá ádiwú noek | pújá karawá sat geṇehi terawarunwahanse  
 pradhánakoṭe wasnéṭat<sup>39</sup> mahadan há siwu | ru pilí dí nē noné  
 ne siyalu pretayanta<sup>40</sup> pin pet<sup>41</sup> dewá me pújá eṣú mahá  
 janayáṭa da tamáṭa<sup>42</sup> da | bahula prítī upadawá kaḷa pú.....<sup>43</sup>

## TRANSLATION.

Bhaṇḍárapote Piriwatubím Wijayánáwan, who carefully  
 guarded the treasures of the Imperial Lord Siri Sanga Bó  
 Purakkrama Báhu and other princes—who was highly pleased  
 with the three gems—was endowed with faith and a clear

intellect, and was illumined with the rays of royal favour—(*this personage*) together with his mother Sumédhádévi and his nephew who held the offices of Adikárama of Laṅká and Principal of the Koṭadanaw temple, having learned from many paṇḍits who were conversant with Buddhist literature and had offices conferred on them, what kind of offerings had been made to the venerable Ruwanmēli (*Dágaba*) by Duṭugemuṇu and many other princes, were transported with joy, and having resolved to make a grand offering superior to the offerings of others, encased (*the dágaba*) beautifully with about 8,880 cloths of various sorts : highly decorated it so as to look like the reflected image of a crown-jewel monument : caused mortar (*prepared*) from five yálas of good rice to be applied thereto : made it lovely with odoriferous flowers, scents, and lamps : adorned the streets with....., flags, banners, plantain-trees, triumphal arches, &c. : made on the first terrace offerings of various eatables and lumps of milk-rice constantly (*pouring in*) like a great flood during a week : honored it by lighting with 2,000 kalandas of camphor many thousands of lamps, inclusive of festoons of lamps and lamps of earthen vessels placed at intervals of one cubit on the third floral attar in the lower part of the dágaba : made presents of rings for the fingers set with stones, and of golden apparel for the different kinds of workmen and labourers : gave garments to their wives and rejoiced their hearts : and pleased with (*gifts of*) gold the writers, the overseers, the appraisers of property, Brahmins, cooks, painters, dancers, singers, tom-tom beaters, conch-blowers, players on the five kinds of musical instruments, ? persons who applied combs and unguents to the cavities (*in the dágaba*), the female servants with auspicious marks on them who took care of the terrace, florists, perfumers,..... Moreover having heard the Thúpawaṇsa (*the history of the dágabas*) while yet on the terrace of the Ruwanmēli Dágaba, they made suitable offerings to the clever preachers of Dharma, and honored the Thúpárama and the illustrious and venerable Bó tree with many lamps lit with camphor, flags, &c. To the residents of the seven monastic establishments, amongst whom the priests were the foremost,

they gave much alms, and cloths for making yellow robes, (and) imparted the merit (*thus acquired*) to their kinsmen, strangers, and all the different kinds of Prétas, experiencing great joy themselves, while they caused the same to the mass of the people who heard of these offerings which were made under the asterism Visá on the 11th day of the bright half of Ēsala in the second year of Her Majesty Abhayasalaméwan Kalyāṇawati.

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completed by his brother Sēdētissa. It is now known by the name of Rankot ('gold-pinnacled') Dāgaba.

17. Read *svāmīṇṭa* for *surāmīṇṭa*.
18. *Anun hā asādhāraṇa*,—lit: 'not common with others,' 'unlike others,' i. e., 'surpassing others.'
19. *Yāla* = 1,280 kuruni; 1 kuruniya being equal to 4 ṇeli.
20. Reading *selesmeṭi* for *soḷosmaṭi*, where *seles* may be derived from the Pāli *silesa* 'union,' and *maṭi* (modern *meṭi*) from *mattikā* 'clay,' hence 'adhesive clay.'
21. The *e* sound in *koṭe* is now replaced by *a*.
22. *Kalanda* = 60 grains (Apothecaries' weight.)

intellect, and was illumined with the rays of royal favour—*(this personage)* together with his mother Sumédhádévi and his nephew who held the offices of Adikárama of Laṅká and Principal of the Koṭadanaw temple, having learned from many paṇḍits who were conversant with Buddhist literature and had offices conferred on them, what kind of offerings had been made to the venerable Ruwanmēli (*Dágaba*) by Duṭugemuṇu and many other princes, were transported with joy, and having resolved to make a grand offering superior to the offerings of others. encased *(the dágaba)* beautifully with about 8 000

Reading “*Baṇḍárapotu* (1), *piriwatu* (2), *Bimvijayanáwan* (3) *há mekugé ambu Sumedhádévin há mekugé ben, &c.,*” the translation would run thus :—

“*Bimvijayanáwan* the younger brother of *Baṇḍárapotu* (who &c.....) and his wife *Sumedhádévi* and their son-in-law, who.....&c.”

1.—*Baṇḍárapotu* is perhaps the minister *Bhaṇḍárapustakí*, mentioned in *Maháwaṇso*, Part 2, Chap. 72, St. 215.

2.—*Piriwatu* = *paruvetri* (Sanskrit) “a younger brother married before his elder.”—Wilson.

8.—*Bimvijayanawan* = *Jagat* (*bhúmi*, *bim*) *vijayanaka*. Vide *Maháwaṇso*, Part 2, Chap. 77, St. 4.

auspicious marks on them who took care of the terrace, florists, perfumers,..... Moreover having heard the *Thúpawaṇsa* (*the history of the dágabas*) while yet on the terrace of the Ruwanmēli *Dágaba*, they made suitable offerings to the clever preachers of Dharma, and honored the *Thúpárama* and the illustrious and venerable *Bó* tree with many lamps lit with camphor, flags, &c. To the residents of the seven monastic establishments, amongst whom the priests were the foremost,

they gave much alms, and cloths for making yellow robes, (and) imparted the merit (*thus acquired*) to their kinsmen, strangers, and all the different kinds of Prétas, experiencing great joy themselves, while they caused the same to the mass of the people who heard of these offerings which were made under the asterism Visá on the 11th day of the bright half of Ēsaḷa in the second year of Her Majesty Abhayasalaméwan Kalyāṇawatī.

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NOTES.

1. Read *sváminnrahanséta* for *suráminnrahanséta*.
2. For *..da..yá* read *lada wisa*.
3. Read *Parákrama Báhu* for *Purakkrama Báhu*. The King here meant is Parákrama Báhu the Great of Polonnaruwa.
4. Read *Sváminnrahansé* for *suráminnrahansé*.
5. *Adhikapprasáda*,—omit the first *p*.
6. Read *ṣraddhá* for *ṣardhá*.
7. *Samavit* = *sāmanvita*, the more common form in modern prose.
8. Omit the first *p* in *rājapprasáda*.
9. Reading *raṣṣin* or *raṣṣin* for *rāsin*.
10. *Amadu* = the modern *ammanḍi*; the *du* in *amadu* is a suffix used to express endearment or familiarity and is another form of the modern *dé* which occurs in such words as *mēniyandé* 'mother,' *piyānandé* 'father,' &c.
11. *Koṭadanawu*—supposed to be in Bintenna,
12. *Dēvalnāwan* = *Dēvālanāyākayan*, the Principal of a Hindú Temple.
13. *Ṭen*—from *ṭhāna* 'place' (Páli) is now obsolete. The modern form is *ṭen*, but this, in the sense of 'post' or 'office,' is more commonly written *ṭhānántara* or *tanatura*,
14. *Noek*—now more commonly written *noyek*.
15. Read *paṇḍita* for *paṇḍita*.
16. *Ruvanmēli*, more commonly called *Ruvanwēli*,—name of a celebrated Dágaba at Anurádhapura commenced by King Duṭugēmuṇu and completed by his brother Śeḍētissa. It is now known by the name of Rankot ('gold-pinnacled') Dágaba.
17. Read *sváminṭa* for *suráminṭa*.
18. *Anun há asádhāraṇa*,—lit: 'not common with others,' 'unlike others,' i. e., 'surpassing others.'
19. *Yáḷa* = 1,280 kuruni; 1 kuruniya being equal to 4 *ṇeli*.
20. Reading *selesmēti* for *soḷosmēti*, where *seles* may be derived from the Páli *silesa* 'union,' and *mēti* (modern *mēti*) from *mattiká* 'clay,' hence 'adhesive clay.'
21. The *ḥ* sound in *koṭe* is now replaced by *a*.
22. *Kalanda* = 60 grains (Apothecaries' weight.)

23. Reading *tunnana* for *tunpana*.
24. The Sinhalese paraphrase of the Attanagaluwaṇsa has *piyanasāwa* for the Pāli *puppādhāna* which means 'a flower-receptacle' or 'floral seat.'
25. Literally: 'offerings of lamps of camphor in earthenware.'
26. Reading *daḥas*, 'thousands' for ..., s.
27. Read *un* for *unu*.
28. Read *vihārarakshāvé* for *vihārakshāvé*.
29. *Samadarurān* = *sāmidarurān*, 'lords,' 'masters,' or 'overseers.'
30. *Pasakun*—'cooks' as being derived from *pāchaka* 'one who cooks' (P. and S.)
31. This is doubtful.
32. *Paḍeniye*,—the cavities between the circular rings of a *dāgaba*
33. *Pané* = modern *panā* 'combs': perhaps a kind of brush is meant here.
34. *Nahana*—(from the Pāli *nahāna*) means that which is applied, while bathing, to clean the person = the modern *nānu* 'unguents.'
35. *Ganun* = modern *gānarun* 'those who smear.'
36. *Mangul miṇḍiyan*,—this might also be rendered 'female servants employed on festive occasions.'
37. *Ruwanṇeli*—from *Ratnamāli*, another form of *Ruwanṇeli*.
38. *Thūpārāma*—the most ancient *dāgaba*, built by Dēwānanpiyatissa.
39. *Wasnētat*—an archaism for *wasnāwuntat*.
40. *Prēṭayāṇa*—'departed spirits doomed to suffer extreme misery.'
41. *Pet*—from the Pāli *patti* 'acquisition,' 'communication to others of the merit one has acquired,' when it is more commonly written *pattidāna*,
42. Read *tamaṇa* for *tamāta*.
43. Reading *pūjārayi* for *pū*....

## No. 2.

### INSCRIPTION AT PEṬIḶIYA'NA.

The copy of the Inscription from which the following translation has been made, is a transcript of another copy in the possession of L. De Soyza Mahā Mudaliyār, who courteously lent it to the translator. It is to be regretted that the Mahā Mudaliyār's health prevents him from completing the translation which he undertook some years back.

With a view to test the accuracy of the copy, the translator visited the temple-premises at Peṭiḷiyāna, but, to his great disappointment, he found the stone in detached fragments built up into a wall, and the fragments themselves so much defaced that they could not be utilized for testing the style or spelling



of the transcript. The translator has, therefore, taken the liberty to note and italicise what he considers clerical errors and place the proposed readings at the bottom of each page. He will feel thankful to any persons who may favor him with their remarks on the doubtful words of the text which he has noted, or suggest any better readings than those proposed by him.\*

## INSCRIPTION.

ශ්‍රී ලංකාධිපති: පරාක්‍රමබාහුසමුපාධිපතියාලංකාති  
සිංහලෙහි මහවතොව වශයෙන් ඉන්ද්‍රමහාසේනා  
ධම්මායංසදාය: සමස්තජගතාං සත්‍යංගවදනී:සදා,  
සොරකෙසක *a* සොමසිත්තහනිකාපයාසුත්‍යං *b* තථාබුජ්‍යතාං

ශ්‍රී ලංකාධිපති:පරාක්‍රමබාහු රජවිහාරෙතනම  
සච්ඡසවාය *c* මකාරයජගදි *d* යනත්‍රාණයතසකඩුතා.

ශ්‍රී ලංකාවෙහි පරාක්‍රමබාහු රජතුමා විසින්  
ඉන්ද්‍රමහාසේනා රජතුමා විසින් මහාසමමන පරම්පරානුසාරී  
වශයෙන් *e* මහාරාජධිරාජ ශ්‍රී සංඝබොධි පරාක්‍රමබාහුවක්‍රම  
සිත්තසාමිති වහන්සේ *f* එකත්සාලිස්වත්සමදිත්තින පුර පස  
ලොස්වකජයවසින පුරපුරයෙහි සුමනල *g* ප්‍රාසාදයෙහි මුඛවිත්‍ර  
මධ්‍යයෙහි *h* සිංහාසනයෙහි සිරිතිවෙස්සන ඔටුන්නිවැටි *i* ල

\* Mr. L. De Soysa read a Paper on the *Pepiliyāna* inscription before the Society some years ago, but it was not printed in the Journal at the time, and is now lost. The following extract from the Paper appeared in the *Ceylon Times* of June 11th, 1873 :—

"This inscription, is to be found on a rock on the site of an ancient Buddhist Temple near Kōṭṭé, where from A. D. 1410 to A. D. 1542 Singhalese Kings held Court.

"No part of the ancient buildings of the Temple now remain, having been, it is said, levelled to the ground, by the Portuguese who destroyed this and other buildings in and near Kōṭṭé.

"My copy of the inscription was taken from one in the possession of a Buddhist Priest who now occupies the modern Pansala built on the supposed site of the ancient Temple, and I was informed by him that his teacher's teacher obtained it some 70 or 80 years ago, from a transcript preserved in the

*a* රකෙසක *b* පුත්‍රයං *c* ප්‍රසවාය *d* ජගති *e* වංශානිජන  
*f* වහන්සේ *g* සුමනල *h* මණිපයෙහි *i* සැට

රණිත්සැදි රජසුවරජ ඇමතිනණ්ඩරිවරා දෙවෙනිසුළුලාවෙන්  
 වැඩහිදහැමනැණිති; කළමනාකරවුනකට k ව්‍යවස්ථාවද, රණ  
 නැතසිහිසථවු මවුබිසවුන්වහන්සේට පිත්පිතිසදහිනවිහිතා  
 රසක්කරවනලෙසට රණිවාසලකාරයෙනි නිසුනන l සිතුරු  
 දල්පොතුන්වද, ලමෙහෙවරිත්පස්විසිදහසක්දනවිසදමිකො  
 වපානබුහුබද පැපිලියානෙනි m ප්‍රාකාර නොසුරපුහිමාග්‍රහ n  
 මඩප බොධිබෙවනා සංඝාවාස දේවාලසතරය පුසාකාලයපු  
 පොරුමඵලාගමාදිත්පුසනකොට සමුඛි o කරවු විහාරයවිරසථා  
 සිට වඩිනවිණ p විනිස පිදුයෙන් මෙමපැපිලියානහා මෙහිබද  
 මැදිමාලහා අනුතුව දිනුල්පිටියෙන් පිදුයෙන් වෙල්ලෙන් උඩ  
 දෙනියෙන් දසාවුනක් කථනොටබද්දෙන් අරගොඩවිලහා  
 මෙහිබදවල්පිට වතුපැලත් ඇතුළුවුනැත්හා පස්සොදුන්බද  
 කුඩාවැලිනමහා මෙමගමට ඇතුලත්තුලගෙසි (?) රත්ගොඩහා  
 මත්තොත්බද්දෙන් මඩිත් කෙනෙල්සේනාවෙන් යාලකවප  
 හා මෙහි බදවල්පිටහා මත්තොත්බද්දෙන් බෝඛුවලවිලිත්  
 මුල්බිජුවට දෙයාලක්හා ගොතිත්පසලොසමුනක්හා අඵත්තු  
 රුවබද බෝල්ලනාවිලිත් යාලකවපහා මෙහිබදගොඩහා සි

Archives of the late King of Kandy. There can be no question however, as to its genuineness. I have compared it with such parts of the stone as still remain, and have found that it exactly corresponds with the stone. The style and matter too of the inscription furnish indisputable evidence of its genuineness and authenticity.

"The inscription records the erection and endowment of a Buddhist Temple in memory of his deceased mother Sunétra Mahá Dévi, by King Śrī Parākrama Báhu VI., who reigned at Kótté (according to Turnour) from A. D. 1410 to 1462. It also contains a variety of provisions for the due maintenance of the temple: for the expenditure of its income: and regulations for the observance of the clerical and lay members of the establishment.

"The style of the inscription is similar to that of other writings of the 14th or 15th centuries; and Mr. Alwis has published in his Introduction to the *Sīdat Sangará*, the introductory paragraph of the inscription as a specimen of the prose of that age. The construction of the sentences, however, is very peculiar. The whole of the inscription, which is a very long one, is conglomerated, as it were, into one sentence by means of conjunctive particles and participles, having apparently only one finite verb expressed. The words in general are those in modern use, with a very few exceptions which I have noticed in the notes.

j නැත්ති k සුත්තට l නිසුනන m පැපිලියානෙනි n ගහ  
 o සමාධි p වන

නැරට බද්ධිරිදොරහා බෙලියල්නුවරබද මන්ගෙදරහා දො  
ලොස්දහස්වරබද මැදගොඩින් මැඩලගෙනගොඩින් පසමුන  
ක්හා කුඹුරුබිජුවට සතරමුනක්හා රඬිගමිනුවරබදදෝ? වේර  
ගල්ලෙනවිහාරයටපිදු ලබුගමහා සල්තොටින්ගෙටත් එකක්  
හා කුඹුරුබිජුවට තුන්පැලකවපහා වැලිගමි දසගව්වබද ක  
නංකගේවිහාරයටපිදු ඉන්තවලපා බතලාවලදම්ලියද්දනැඹි  
ලිහිරිඇතුළුවු කුඹුරුබිජුවට පසමුනක්හා එපාමුලඹිවිට එකමු  
නුපැලක්හා උවාඵගොඩ නතුගොඩ උදිගොඩ වැල්ලලාගේ  
වල්පිටිඇතුළුවුනැතහා බෙලියල්නුවරබද බුලත්ගමිසැලැස්  
මෙන් පිට්ටාගමහා පරිවාරජනයන්ගෙන් දෙසියපනසක්හා  
සරක්දෙසාලක්හා ඇරිඳු දෙකක්හා පුණ්ණපාරඵකක්හාගො  
යෙක්විහාර ගැහා ඔකැතුළුවුසියල්ල බුඩායනන බමායනන  
සාංඝිකව පවත්නාපරිද්දෙන් සලස්වා පළමුවෙන් මහබිඤ්ඤ  
සාමිත්තේ ශ්‍රීනාමයෙන්සුගෙනුමහාදේවි පිරිවෙනආස්වාමේ  
විහාරයට නායකවැමිනි ගලතුරුමුලගෙමබංකර මහතෙරසා  
මිත්ව නත්තේරේරිසියානිශ්‍රයෙන් වූසතමහලසාමිත්ව සුගෙනු  
මහදේවි පිරිව තෙරආස්වා ඉදිරියේදවස මොබ්වන තේරේරේ

“The date assigned to the King’s accession is stated to have taken place in the year of Buddha 1958 (A. D. 1415), whereas Turnour in his adjustment of Singhalese Chronology, computed from native records, has fixed the date at 1953 (A. D. 1410) five years earlier. The authority of the stone however, cannot be disputed, and it is in a remarkable manner confirmed by the well known contemporary poem *Kāvyaśekhara*, the author of which was the most learned monk of the age, and, according to tradition, the King’s adopted son.

“The regulations enacted for the management of the Temple establishment and for the distribution of its income are also very curious, and throw considerable light on the manners, customs, and social condition of the Island at the period in question. It shows that the form of Singhalese letters now in use have not undergone any material change, during, at least, the last five or six hundred years, with the exception of a few.

“It is believed by many that the worship of Hindú Gods, and the practice of Hindú rites and ceremonies, were introduced into Ceylon by the last Malabar King who obtained the throne of Kandy, after the extinction of the Singhalese Royal Family about the year A. D. 1739; but it would appear from the inscription that the innovation is of much earlier date. The King it is well-known was an eminent patron of Buddhism, having built four *Dévālas* in connection with the *Vihāré*.”—*Hon. Sec.*

ගුරුසිසා <sup>r</sup> පරමපුරායෙන් අසනපිරිවානානැත්තියා ශාසනය  
 වඩිනකිරීමට යෝග්‍යතැනකට පිරිවෙනවත්නා නියායෙන් <sup>s</sup>  
 සනිටුහන්කොට මෙකී ලාභයෙන් සතර පත්‍රගත්තා නැලි  
 යෙන් බොධියට හා නාථ මෛත්‍රීදෙනනට දවස් එකකට එ  
 කිත් එකදේවාලයකට මුළුතැනට පැසිසාල්පසලොසක් මාථ  
 රත්තුත් මස්සක් පොල්තුනක් සතුරු මුළු එකක් එනු <sup>t</sup> නැලි මුක්  
 කාලක් ඊනු <sup>u</sup> දුරුකසා ඇතුළු වූ දෙයට මසුළුකක් පාත්තෙලට  
 පොල්පසක් සුවදමල් දහසක් බුලත් විසිසයක් පුවක් පසලොස  
 ක් හා මස් එකකට මිරිස් නැලියක් දෙකක් දුන්නෙල් නැලි දෙ  
 කක් පිරිබඩසදුන් පලත් <sup>v</sup> අටක් සුවද දුමට අඟිල් පලමිතුනක්  
 ගුගුල් පලමිතුනක් ඇතුළු වූ දෙය හා අවුරුදු පූජාවට කැකුළු පැසි  
 එක් සියපනසක් පොල් සියයක් පාත් පූජාවට පොල් දසක් හා බී  
 සෝ සාමිත් සවගී සඵල වෙසග පුර විසේ නියපටත් පුර පසලො  
 ස්වකදක්වා කරණ විසේ සපූජාවට කැකුළු පැසි තුන් සියයක්  
 පොල් දෙසියයක් පාත් පූජාවට පොල් දෙදසක් හා ත්‍රිපිටකයෙ  
 න් මසකට ගුනථ එක් දසක් සත් සියයක් ලියන නම් එකකට දව  
 ස් එකකට සාල්තුනක් මාථරත් දෙමස් සක් පොල් දෙකක් බුලත්  
 දසයක් පුවක් පසක් මස් එකකට එනු දසයක් මිරිස් එකක් ඊනු දුරු  
 කසා ආදියට පනම් එකක් අවුරුදු එකකට පිළියට <sup>w</sup> පනම් සියයක්  
 හා පිරුවත් සාමිත්ව දවස් එකකට වස්නට පැසිසාල්පසක් ගෙ  
 නෙහි <sup>x</sup> වැඩගිඳින නම් පසකට නමකට සතර බැගින් පැසිසාල්  
 විසිසයක් <sup>y</sup> මාථරත් අටක් පොල් නවයක් කස පැත් සතක් සතුරු  
 තුන් මුළු බැගක් පාත්තෙලට පොල් සයක් හා පිරිවෙනට දවස් එ  
 කකට බුලත් හිසක් පුවක් පසලොසක් විදුනෙත්තැනට බුලත්  
 පසලොසක් පුවක් සතක් සෙසු තැනට බුලත් සතලිස් අටක් පු  
 වක් විසිසතරක් හා මස් එකකට එනු පනසක් මිරිස් සයක් ඊනු  
 දුරුකසා දියට පනම් නවයක් දුන්නෙලට හා ඉස්තෙලට විසි දෙ  
 නැලි මනාවක් හා අවුරුදු එකකට පිරිවෙනට සිව් රු දෙකකට  
 පනම් සියය වටිනා පිළිරු දෙකක් අදනයට පස් විස්සක් වටිනා  
 පිළිරු එකක් සතක් වටිනා දත්ත ධම්මකක් දසය වටිනා වන බඳි <sup>z</sup>  
 නාදෙකක් පෙරගත්ත කඩ ඇ අට පිරිකර එකක් මගුල් පිරිතෙහි  
 එක් විසි පුටුවට නම්කක් උඩුවියත් ඇද ඇති රිලි නිරජ වණිකා <sup>aa</sup>  
 ආදිය හා සෙසු තැනට සිව් රු දසයට නිසනිස වටිනා පිළිරු දසය

<sup>r</sup> ශිෂ්‍ය <sup>s</sup> නියායෙන් <sup>t</sup> ලුණු <sup>u</sup> ලුණු <sup>v</sup> පලමි <sup>w</sup> පිළියට  
<sup>x</sup> ගෙණෙහි <sup>y</sup> විස්සක් <sup>z</sup> වණි <sup>aa</sup> ජවනිකා



සෙසුසිසා *mm* පදව්‍යානිකුමයකලනැනක්වුදුත් වදාලමිණය *nn* කමියකොටවසනුවත් මෙනිවසනනැත්සුත්‍රානිවමිණය නකී වහකරණදියෙහි සතනයෙන් අනියෝගකරණුවත් විහාර කමිකාරදිත්වතරමිවැටුප්දිවෙල්දන පවත්වනුවත් නිරතන රයෙන් සක්සිත්නමිආදිවූ පංචධ්‍රයහා කුඩා සේසත් පට ආ කාශවියන්ප්‍රාණප *oo* පසිසැට්ටආදිවූදෙය පවත්වනුවත්මෙ හිආදිවූනැත් වැඩිනැතිත් නමහටවැටෙන පසයමෙන්තෙ සුතුනුරුවත් පුදවැටුප් විහාර නනුපපාදයෙන් *pp* නොකොට පවත්වනුවත් රජසමිතපරිද්දෙන් ලියාතුඩු මේ ශිලාලෙඛ නයවූනියාවට මෙවිහාරය පවතිනාතෙත්කල් උභයවාසයේ මහාසංඝයාවනත්සේ පිසිනුත් රජසුවරජමහආමානාදිත් *qq* පිසිනුත් අඩුවක්නොකොට පවත්වා දෙලෝනොවරදවා යව ගීපදගී සමපතනියට පැමිනෙනපරිද්දෙන් සිතුවයහපති *mm*

සුසාලස්වකු උදුට්ඨමස පුර පියෙතිකලත් රිච්දිනසේලියද රයරුත්තැත් වදාලමෙහෙවරිත් මහබිසෝසාමිත්ටපිත්පිනිය කථබෝවිල වතතල මහරමාදිමිසේ දූසිගොමුව නවයොදන දෙනවක අරමනසල පිලිමගෙය මඩපය ලැහුම්ගෙය මේආදි වූවිහාරකමානා සමාධිකරවානෙහෙල්පත්වදාලවෙලිත් කු මුරුබිඳුවට පසලොසමුගත්තා මෙමනැත්තේවතුහා කසලෙ ලිත්අමුතුව අස්වැද්දුනොට කුඹුරද මිරිස්තලකන්ද වල්පිට කැන්දන්තවුටහා මානමිත් ඇලබඩකුඹුර බිඳුවට දූමුතක්තා දෙල්නොටකුඹුරඇතුළුවූ මෙමනමිවලට ඇතුළත්වූ වල්පිල් හා ගැනු *rr* පිරිමි මිස්සක්හා ගරුභාඩමොරනොට පට්ටියහා සහිත තුනුරුවත්සතකකොට පැවිලියාගෙන් සුගන්තුවහ දෙවිපිරවරිත් *ss* තෙරසාමිත්දක්කොදක *tt* කොටසලස්වැදුත් හයිඵ්වූපරිද්දෙන් මෙවිහාරයට නායකවූ සමන්තැත්පිසිනුත් මෙමකුමයෙත්විධත්තාලයක් පවත්නාලෙසසලස්වාතුනු රුව න්උදෙසා දෙනලද යථොක්තප්‍රාකාර *uu* සියල්ලටමතුකිසියම් කෙනෙකුත්ගෙන් අඩුලක් උඩරණයක් කියත්තක්ගෝ පරි වාරජනයාව රජනියෝගයකින් ගෙවනක සලස්වත්තක් ගෝ කලකෙනෙක්ඇත්තම් සංජීව කාලසුත්‍රාදිවූ අවමහන රකසඇතුළුව එක්සියසහසක් නරකයෙහිවැටී අපමණවූදුක්

*mm* ශිසා *nn* මිනිය *oo* ප්‍රණව *pp* නනුපපාදයෙන් *qq* මහාමානාදිත් *rr* ගැණු *ss* පිරිවත් *tt* දක්කොදක *uu* ප්‍රකාර

විඳිමට පැමිනෙන්නාහුනම්වෙන් පිතෘස්තෘදිවූ පවානන  
රයකමියට හේතු වූවාහු නම් වෙති.

සවදනනාංපරදනනාං වා යෙහරනතිවසුනධරා  
ඡජිවජී සහග්‍රාහි vv විජටයාත් ww ජයනෙත්‍රිමි.

නිණංවායදිවාකට්ඨං පුළුඵංවායදිවාඵලං  
යොහරෙබ්බධහොගසස මහාපෙතොභවිසසති.

ශ්‍රීලංකාධිපතිපරාක්‍රමබාහුසමුපාධිපති  
සාමාන්‍යාභිමානවර්ධනාභිමානාමෙ හමිසවරාභිමාන  
බමායාසදාසසමසතපනාං සත්‍යානවදහිසද,  
රසෙසසසෙමසිජනනජිකාපයා පුණ්‍යංතවාහුජානාං.

යනාදිත් සමකියවූ ආරාධනාවෙන් වදාරණලද  
අවනතවචනයද.

එකෙවහගිතිලොකෙ සවේනීමපිහුහුණ  
නහොගසනකරග්‍රාහක දානාදානනාවසුනධරා.

කියනලද ප්‍රවේනකවචනයද අනාගතයෙහිපැමිනි රජ  
මහාඅමාත්‍යදිත්විසිත් හැමවේලෙහිම සිහිකොට මේකියන  
පුණ්‍යක්‍රියාව තමනමා සියඅභිනකලාක්මෙන් සමසිතිත් පිත්  
අනුමෝදන්ව විහාරවාසීන්ට අනියම් වරහිර xx ආදිවූ අත්ති  
සිතෙවයක් නොසලස්වනසේද කවරතරම් කෙනෙකුත් වි  
හාරවාසීන් නොවිකුණනසේද රජආශ්‍රිතව බලසලවාම  
සියළු කටලයම අබඩවපවති තානියායෙන් උතසාහඅැතිව

දානපාලනයොමිබෝ දානාත්‍රෙයොනුපාලනං  
දානාත්සවගීම්වාපෙනාහි පාලනා දදිවුතං yy පදං.

කියනලදගෙසිත් එබඳු නිවන්සුවකැමති සත්පුරුෂයාචි  
සිත් මෙකියන විහාර වහිනකිරීමෙහි සාහිලාසඅැතිව එමකු  
සලානුභාවයෙන් මෙමත්‍රි සවිශ්‍යරජෙතනමයානත් වහන්සේ  
දූක බණ්ඞසා කෙලවර බුදු පසේබුදු මහරහතුත්වහන්සේචි  
සිත් පසක්කලාවූ ශාතනවූ අපරවූ අමරවූ කෙසමවූ අමුත zz  
මහා නිව්වාන aaa පුරප්‍රාප්තියට උත්සාහ කටසුතු.

vv සහස්‍රාණි ww විජටයාං xx වරහිර yy දවසුතං zz අමාන  
aaa නිව්වාණ

## TRANSCRIPT.

Śrī Laṅkādhīpatiḥ Parākramabhujas sūryyānvayālaṅkṛiti  
 Ryyāchehambhawato vachasṣruṇuta me bhūmīśwarā bhāwinaḥ  
 Dharmmoyaṇ sadṛiṣaḥ samasta jagatāṇ satyaṇ bhavadbhiḥ sadā  
 Saurakshyo<sup>1</sup> saumayi jāta harshakṛipayā *punyaṇ*<sup>2</sup> tathā bhujyatāṇ  
 Śrī Laṅkādhīpatiḥ Parākramabhujō rājā viharottaman  
 Swaprasavākhyā<sup>3</sup> makārayajjagadi<sup>4</sup> yantrāṇāya tasyādhunā

Śrī Buddha varshayen ek dahas nava siya aṭa panas  
 avuruddak piruṇu sanda siri Laka raja pēmini Mahāsammata  
 paramparānuyāta sūryyawaṇṣābhijāta<sup>5</sup> mahā rājādhirāja Śrī  
 Saṅgha Bodhi Śrī Parākrama Bāhu Chakrawartti Swāmīnvahan-  
 shēta<sup>6</sup> ekunsālis wanu meḍindina pura pasaloswaka Jayawarddha-  
 napurapravarayehi *sumāṅgala*<sup>7</sup> prāsādābhimukha chitra maṇḍapa-  
 yehi<sup>8</sup> siṅhāsana yehi siri nives saha oṭunu siw *ṣeṭa*<sup>9</sup> barāṇin  
 sēdī rajayuvārāja eṃatigaṇa piriwarā devēndralilāwen vēdahinda  
 hēma *tēṇhi*<sup>10</sup> kaḷamanā kaṭayuktata<sup>11</sup> vyavasthā vadāraṇa tēna  
 swargasthawū mawubisawun *wahanshēta* pin pinisa abhinava  
 wihārayak karawanalesata rāṇivāsala kāriyehi *niyukta*<sup>12</sup> Sikurā  
 mudalpotuṇṭa wadāla mehewarin paswisidahasak dana wiyadam  
 koṭa Pānabunubada *Pepiliyāṇehi*<sup>13</sup> prakāra gōpura pratimā  
*graha*<sup>14</sup> *maṇḍapa* bodhi chaitya saṅghāwāsa dēwālasataraya  
 pustakālaya pushpārāma phalārāmādīn yuktakoṭa *samurāddha*<sup>15</sup>  
 karawū wihārāya chirasthāyīwa warddhanawāṇa<sup>16</sup> pinisa pidūyen  
 mema Pepiliyāna hā mehi bānda Meḍimāla hā amutuwa Dim-  
 bulpiṭiyen pidūyen wēllen uḍa deniyen dasāmunak Kaḷutoṭa  
 badden Araggōḍa wilā hā mehi bada walpiṭa watupēlat eṭuluwū  
 tēn hā Pas yodun bada kuḍā Wēligama hā mema gamāta eṭulāt  
 tulageyi (?) Rangōḍa hā Matgonbadden maḍin Kehel sēnāwen  
 yālaka wapa hā mehi bada walpiṭa hā Matgon badden Bōbuwala  
 wilin mul bijuwāta deyālak hā goḍin pasalosamunak hā Alut-  
 kūruwa bada Bollatāwilin yālaka wapa hā mehi bada goḍa hā

1 rakshyo, 2 puṇyaṇ, 3 prasavākhyā, 4 jagati, 5 waṇṣābhijāta, 6 vahansēta,  
 7 sumāṅgala, 8 maṇḍapayehi, 9 ṣeṭa, 10 tēṇhi, 11 yuttata, 12 niyukta, 13 Pepili-  
 yāṇehi, 14 griha, 15 samriddha, 16 wana.



Sínérata bada Giridora há Beligal nuwara bada Mangedara há Dolos dahas rata bada Međa gođin Međalané gođin pasamunak há kumburu bijuwata sataramunak há Rayigam nuwara banda le (?) Wéragal lena wihárayata pidú Labugama há Saltotin gewat ekak há kumburu bijuwata tun pelak wapa há Weligam dasagawwa bada Kanankayé wihárayata pidú Ittawala Pábatáláwala Dám liyadda Tembilihira etuluwú kumburu bijuwata pasamunak há Epámula ówita ekamunu pelak há Uwálugoda Natugoda Udigoda Wellalané walpiṭa etuluwú tena há Beligal nuwara bada Bulatgam seleşmen Pittágama há pariwára janayangen desiyapanasak há sarak deyálak há *etire*<sup>17</sup> dekak há lunu páru ekak há noyek vihára garubhāṇḍa etuluwú siyalla Buddháyatta Dharmáyatta Sāṅghikawa páwatiná paridden salaswá palamuwen mahabisó sámíngé śrī námayen Sunétrá Mahá Dévi pirivena aswá mé wihárayata náyakawa pemini Galaturumula Medhaṅkara Maha Terasámínwahanségé śishya niṣṛayen mukta *Maṅgala* sámínta Sunetrá Maha Dévi piriwantera aswá idiriyé dawasa mobawahanségé gurusīya<sup>18</sup> paramparāyen asana piriwáná ten kiyá sāsanya warddhana kirímaṭa yógya tenakaṭa piriwena pawatná *niyāyen*<sup>19</sup> sanīṭuhankota meki lābhayen satarapat ganná nelīyen bodhiyata há Nátha Maitrí detenata dawas ekakaṭa ekin eka déwálayakaṭa mulutenata peṣi sál pasalosak málu ran tun massak pol tunak sakuru mulu ekak *lunu*<sup>20</sup> neli mukkálak *lunu*<sup>21</sup> duru kasá etuluwú deyata masu ekak pán telaṭa polpasak suwanda mal dahasak bulat wisisayak puwak pasalosak há mas ekakaṭa miris nelīyak dekak duntel neli dekak piribaḍa sandun *palan*<sup>22</sup> aṭak suwanda dumata agil palam tunak gugul palam tunak etuluwú deyahá awurudu pújáwata keḱulu peṣi ek siya panasak pol siyayak pán pújáwata pol dásak há bisó sámín swargasthawú wesāṅgapura wiséniya paṭan pura pasaloswaka dakwá karaṇa wisésa pújáwata keḱulu peṣi tun siyayak pol desiyayak pán pújáwata pol dedásak há tripiṭakayen masakaṭa grantha ekdás sat siyayak liyana nam ekakaṭa dawas ekakaṭa sál tunak málu ran demassak pol dekak bulat dasayak puwak pasak mas ekakaṭa lunu dasayak miris ekak *lunu* duru kasá ádiyata panam ekak awurudu ekakaṭa *piliyata*<sup>23</sup> panam siyayak há piruwan sámínta dawas ekakaṭa

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17 *etru*, 18 *śishya*, 19 *niyāyen*, 20 *lunu*, 21 *lunu*, 22 *palam*, 23 *piliyata*.

wasnaṭa peṣi sāl pasak *genehi*<sup>24</sup> weḍahindina nam pasakaṭa namakaṭa satara beḡin peṣi sāl *wisisayak*<sup>25</sup> mālu ran aṭak pol nawayak kasapeṇ satak sakuru tunmulu bēyak pān telaṭa pol sayak há piriwenāṭa dawas ekakaṭa bulat tisak puwak pasalosak widānétenāṭa bulat pasalosak puwak satak sesu teṇaṭa bulat satalis aṭak puwak wisisatarak há mas ekakaṭa lunu panasak miris sayak lunu duru kasādiyāṭa panam nawayak dun telaṭa há istelaṭa wisi deneli manāwak há awrudu ekakaṭa piriwenāṭa siwru dekakaṭa panam siyaya waṭinā pilirú dekak andanayāṭa paswissak waṭinā pilirú ekak satak waṭinā dankada ekak dasaya waṭinā *wana*<sup>26</sup> bandinā dekak perahankada é aṭapirikara ekak magul piritehi ek wisi puṭuwen ekak uḍu wiyan eṇda eṭirili tira *jawaniká*<sup>27</sup> ádiya há sesu teṇaṭa siwru dasayata tisa tisa waṭinā pilirú dasayak há gilanteṇaṭa áyasa *sanhindena*<sup>28</sup> tek gilán pasaya eṭuluwú wiyadama aḍuwak nokoṭa pawatinuwa há weḍa un teṇin *dewawadála*<sup>29</sup> Pānabunu banda *Nikapaya*<sup>30</sup> gama pirivena waṭanā *sapasadānayāṭa*<sup>31</sup> pawatinuwa há wihára santaka noyek gamwalin widhānayāṭa pasamunak há itiri pasa-yen satara digin weḍi maha sanghayá wahanshégen namakaṭa sāl satarak mālu ran ekak pol ekak sakuru bé ekak kasapeṇ ekak lunu miris kasá aba duntel pántel eṭuluwú deya bulat dasayak puwak pasak há tera namakaṭa sāl pasak mālu ran tunak pol satarak sakuru mulak lunu ekak kasapeṇ dekak lunu miris lunu kasá aba duntel istel eṭuluwú deya há bulat tisak puwak pasalosak pántelaṭa tel *mēṇḍe*<sup>32</sup> ekak há tun dá setapena lesaṭa kalál peduru eṭirili peṇ walan eṭuluwú dan weṭa no pirihelá tun masin masa wihárayāṭa pemini mahá sanghayá wahanshéṭa tun dawesak dan denu wat gilán teṇaṭa *piliwelín*<sup>33</sup> gilán pasaya pawatwá yanawiṭa é é digin Wattala *Kelaniya*<sup>34</sup> Aturugiriya Wídágama Kaḷutoṭa meki wihárawala eṇalawálanuwat pilima-geya dágep sámín sanghāwása eṭuluwú wihárayehi *kalamaná*<sup>35</sup> meheyaṭat mehi bada wihárawala meheyaṭat é é *wihárawala-yehi*<sup>36</sup> eṭi watin denuwat kiyá eṇawiya noheki anisamak peminiwiṭa wihárayen dí geḷawenuwat wihára pilibanda gam

24 *genehi*, 25 *wissak*, 26 *wana*, 27 *jawaniká*, 28 *sanhindena*, 29 *dewáwadála*, 30 *Nikapaya*, 31 *siwupasadānayāṭa*, 32 *mēṇḍa*, 33 *piliwelín*, 34 *Kelaniya*, 35 *kalamaná*, 36 *wihárawala or wihárawalhi*.

kumburu minisá satá garubhāṇḍa *nowikunuwat* <sup>37</sup> kisi kenekun wisin no ganuwat wihārayé pariwāra janayangen piriwenāṭa abhiyukta nam satarak salādaru (?) nam pasak dan pisana nam tunak eṭuluwúwan niti mehe karanuwat sessawunut genehi wasana tēnaṭa atpāmehekirim *ágantuga* <sup>38</sup> tēnaṭa kalamaná upas-thāna wihāra karmmānta ádivú siyalla mehi bēṇḍikarāṇa wenat seḷeswīmut piriwenēhi niyógawú niyāwāṭa nūgūlúwá pawatinuwat piṭakatrāya tarka wyākaraṇādiya dānná kenekun pēminiwiṭa wēṭup tabádí uganuwat párájikáwan tēn mehi nowasanuwat sesu *sikshá* <sup>39</sup> pada wyatikramāya kalatēnak Budun wadāla *wināya* <sup>40</sup> karmayakoṭa wasanuwat mehi wasana tēn sūtrābhi-dharma wināya tarka wyākaraṇādiyēhi satatāyēn abhiyóga-karanuwat wihāra karmmakārādīnta taram wēṭup diwel dēna pawatwanuwat nirantarāyēn sak sinnam ádiwú pañchadhurāya há kuḍa sēsāt paṭa ákāśa wiyan *prāṇapa* <sup>41</sup> payi seṭṭa eṭuluwú deya pawatwanuwat mehi eṭuluwú tēn wēḍi tēnin tamahāṭa wēṭena pasāya men tesu tunuruwan puda wēṭup wihāra *tatruppādayēn* <sup>42</sup> no koṭa pawatwanuwat rājasammata paridden liyá tubú mé ṣilālekkhanāya wú niyāwāṭa mé wihārāya pawatiná tekkal ubhāya wāsāyē mahá saṅghayá wahansé wisinut raja yuwarāja *mahaamāptyādin* <sup>43</sup> wisinut aḍuwak nokoṭa pawatwá deló no waradawá swargāpawarga sampattiyāṭa pēminēna paridden situwa yahapati.

Susāliswanu unḍuwap masa pura wisēniya lat rividina séliyardarayarun tēn wadāla mehewarin maha bisó sāmīnta pin pinisa Kaḷubōwila Wattala Mahara Mādampé Deḍigomuwa Navayodana Denawaka Aramana sala pilimageya maṇḍapāya lēgumgeya mé ádiwú wihāra karmmānta samriḍḍha karawá Kehelpatdolawelin kumburu bijuwāṭa pasalosamunak há mema tēn géwatuhá Kasāwelín amutuwa aswēddú Totākumbura da Miris-galakanda walpiṭa Kēṇḍagamuwa há Māgamin Eḷabāḍakumbura bijuwāṭa dēmunak há Deltōṭa kumbura eṭuluwú mema gam-walāṭa eṭulatwú walwil há *gēnu* <sup>44</sup> piriṇi wissak há garubhāṇḍa Moratōṭa paṭṭiya há sahita tunu ruwan santakakoṭa Pēpiliyāné Sunētrá Maha Devī *piriwarin* <sup>45</sup> tera sāmīn *dakshinodaka* <sup>46</sup> koṭa

37 no wikunuwat, 38 ágantuka, 39 śikshá, 40 wināya. 41 prāṇapa, 42 tatropādayēn, 43 mahāmātyādin. 44 gēnu, 45 piriwan, 46 dakshipodaka.

salaswá dunhayi é wú paridden mé wihárayaṭa náyakawú samat  
 ten wisinut mema kramayen chirátkálayak pawatná lesa salaswá  
 tunuruwan udesá denalada yathoktaprákára<sup>47</sup> siyallaṭa matu  
 kisi yam kenekungen awulak uddharanayak kiyannak hó pari  
 wáranayayáṭa rája niyógayakin tévayaka salaswannak hó kala  
 kenek etnam sanjiva kálasútrádiwú aṭa maha narakaya etuluwa  
 ek siya satisak narakayehi weṭi apamanawú duk windímaṭa  
 peminennáhu nam wet pitrighátádiwú pañchánantariya karma-  
 yaṭa hétuwúwáhu nam weti.

Swadattāṇ paradattāṇ wá yé haranti wasundharāṇ  
 Shashthiwarsha sahasráni<sup>48</sup> wishtayát<sup>49</sup> jáyate krimiḥ

Tiṇaṇ wá yadi wá kaṭṭhaṇ pupphaṇ wá yadi wá phalaṇ  
 Yo hare Buddhabhogassa mahá peto bhawissati

Śrī Lanṅkádhpatiḥ Parákramabhujas súryyānwayálanṅkritir  
 Yáchehaṇbhawatowachaṣṣruṇuṭa me bhúmíṣwará bháwinaḥ  
 Dharmoyaṇ sadriṣaḥ samasta jagatāṇ satyaṇ bhavadbhiḥ sadá  
 Rakshyo saumayi játa harshakripayá punyaṇ tathá bhujyatāṇ

Yanádín swakíyawú árádhanáwen wadáranalada awanata  
 wachanayada

Ekaiwa bhaginí lóké sarwéśhámapi bhúbhujāṇ  
 Na bhogyá nakaragráhyá dánodáttá wasundhará

Kiyanalada purwokta wachanaya da anágatayehi pēmini  
 rája mahá amátyádín wisin hēma wélehma sihikoṭa mé kiyana  
 puñyakriyáwa tama tamá siya atin kalákmen sama sitin pin  
 anumódanwa wihárawásinṭa aniyam waratira<sup>50</sup> ádiwú an kisi  
 tévayak no salaswanaséda kawarataram kenekun wihárawásin  
 no wikunanaséda rája ájñá múlikawa balaya lawá mé siyaḷu  
 kaṭṭalayama akhaṇḍawa pawatiná niyáyen utsáha etiwa.

Dána pálanayormadhye dánát śreyonupálanāṇ  
 Dánát swargamawápnōti pálanádachchutaṇ<sup>51</sup> padaṇ

47 prakára, 48 sahasráni, 49 wishtáyáyā, 50 waritira, 51 achyutaṇ.

Kiyanalada heyin ebandu niwan suwa kemati satpurushaya wisin mekiyana wihara warddhana kirimehi sabhila eta ema kusalanubhawayen Maitri sarwajna rajottamayananwahansa deka bana asa kelawara Budu Pase Budu maha rahatun wahansa wisin pasakkalawu santawu ajarawu kshemawu *amrata*<sup>52</sup> mahā *nirwana*<sup>53</sup> pura praptiyata utsaha katayutu.

## TRANSLATION.

I, Parākrama Bāhu, Supreme Lord of the illustrious Laṅkā, the ornament of the solar race, make a request to you, O princes who will hereafter come (to the throne of Laṅkā); hear ye my words. This religious act is certainly one in which the inhabitants of all the worlds are equally concerned.<sup>1</sup> It is to be maintained by you at all times with feelings of joy and kindness towards me.<sup>2</sup> So, let (the fruit of) my religious act be enjoyed (by you). With a view to the maintenance of that magnificent Vihāra bearing the name of his mother,<sup>3</sup> which he caused to be built in the world, King Parākrama Bāhu, Supreme Lord of the illustrious Laṅkā, now grants to the priesthood good villages of various kinds, together with their inhabitants, gardens, tanks and other receptacles of water, and proclaims the (following) edict, (inscribed) on a rock, in order to its continuance for a long time.

On the 15th day of the bright half of the month Medindina (March-April) in the 39th year of (the reign of) the supreme monarch and universal Lord Śrī Sangha Bodhi Śrī Parākrama Bāhu, born of the solar race, (and) lineally descended from Mahā Sammata, and who attained to the sovereignty of the illustrious Laṅkā in the 1958th year of the illustrious Buddhist era, (the said monarch) being arrayed in his 64 ornaments, inclusive of the crown, the abode of Śrī (the goddess of prosperity), seated himself in the manner of the god-king, surrounded by kings, sub-kings, and a retinue of ministers, on the throne (erected) in the beautiful hall opposite the Sumangala palace in the eminent city of Jayawarddhana, and, whilst giving orders relative

to the administration of the affairs in every part (of his kingdom), offered (the following lands) with a view to the long existence and benefit of the temple which Sikurá Mudalpotu, employed in the royal service, had built, in pursuance of the (royal) order directing him to build a new temple with a view to procure merit for the royal mother who had gone to heaven, (built) at an expense of 25,000 coins, at Peṇḍiyána in the district of Pánabunu (Pánaduré), and had furnished with ramparts, towers, image-houses, halls, Bó trees, sacred monuments, monasteries, four temples dedicated to gods, a library, flower-gardens, orchards, &c.

This Peṇḍiyána, and Meḍimála (Neḍimála ?) which adjoins it, and, in addition (thereto), ten amuṇas from the low ground on the upper side of the dam in Dimbulpiṭiya (Divulpitiya); Araggoḍawila and the adjoining places inclusive of the jungle, meadows, gardens and huts in the district of Kaḷutara; Kuḍá Weḷigama and its ..... Rangoda in Pasyodun Kóralé; one yála<sup>4</sup> of sowing extent from the field Kehelsénáwa with its appurtenances in Maggona District; two yálas of sowing extent from Bóbuwalawila and fifteen amuṇas of sowing extent of high land in Maggona District; one yála of sowing extent from Bollatáwila and the adjoining high land in Alutkúruwa; Giridora in Síne Raṭa (Siyané Kóralé); Mangedara in Beligal Nuwara (Kóralé); five amuṇas of high ground from Meḍagoda and Meḍalengoda, and four amuṇas of sowing extent from fields in Dolosdahasraṭa<sup>5</sup>; Labugama which had been dedicated to Véragallena Vihára in the District of Rayigam Nuwara; one house and one garden with three pélas of sowing extent from fields in Saltota; five amuṇas of sowing extent from fields besides Ittawala, Pábatáláwala, Dámliyeḍda, and Teṃbilihira which had been dedicated to Kananké Vihára in the District of Weḷigama of ten gaws in extent; one amuṇa and one péla of the ówiṭa in Epámula as also Uwálugoda, Natugoda, Udígoda, Weḷlalána with their jungles and meadow grounds; Piṭṭágama, in the Bulatgama Division of Beligal Nuwara; 250 attendants, two yálas<sup>6</sup> of oxen, two elephants (?), one páda boat of salt, and various utensils necessary for a Vihára—all these (the king) dedicated

to be the property of Buddha, Dharmma, and the Priesthood, and (then), in the first place, he called the Vihāra “Sunétrā Maha Déví Pirivena” after the illustrious name of the great Queen ; gave the name of “Sunétrā Maha Déví Piriven Tera” to the Priest Mangala who had completed his course of study under the great priest Galaturumula Medhankara who was the high priest of this Vihāra ; and directed that a priest in pupillary succession from him (Mangala), who is qualified to promote the cause of the (Buddhist) religion by answering questions and reciting bana, be appointed to reside in the Vihāra.

The produce of the above-mentioned lands is to be appropriated as follows :—For the Bódhi, Nátha Maitrí<sup>7</sup> (Déwāle) and each of the (other) Déwālas, each day, fifteen *ṇelis*<sup>8</sup> of four *patas*<sup>9</sup> each of cleaned rice for the sake of food, curry worth three *massas* of gold,<sup>10</sup> three cocoanuts, one packet of jaggery, three-quarters of a *ṇeli* of salt ; one *massa* worth of onions, cumin seed, and turmeric ; five cocoanuts for lamp-oil ; one thousand sweet-smelling flowers ; twenty-six betel leaves ; fifteen arecanuts ; one or two *ṇelis* of chillies for one month, two *ṇelis* of butter, eight *palams*<sup>11</sup> of sandal for ointment ; three *palams* of *agallochum*, three *palams* of sandal, and three *palams* of *bdellium* for incense ; for the annual offering, one hundred and fifty *ṇelis* of rice husked without boiling and cleaned, and a hundred cocoanuts ; for the offering of lamp-light, a thousand cocoanuts ; for the special offering made from the 5th day of the bright half of Wesak (May-June) on which Her Majesty the Queen went to heaven to the 15th of the bright half, three hundred *ṇelis* of rice husked without boiling and cleaned, and two hundred cocoanuts ; for the offering of lamp-light, two thousand cocoanuts ; to one priest who writes one thousand seven hundred *granthas*<sup>12</sup> of the *Tripitaka* in one month, three *ṇelis* of rice, two gold *massas* worth of curry, two cocoanuts, ten betel leaves, five arecanuts for each day ; ten (*ṇelis*) of salt, one of chilly, one *fanam* worth of onions, cumin seed, turmeric, &c., for one month ; one hundred *fanams* for clothing for one year ; to the Principal of the Vihāré, five *ṇelis* of cleaned rice for his daily meals ; to five resident priests of the establishment, twenty-six (?)

nēlis of cleaned rice at the rate of four for each of them, curry worth eight gold (massas), nine cocoanuts, seven young cocoanuts, three and half packets of jaggery ; for lamp-oil, six cocoanuts ; for the daily use of the Vihāra, thirty betel leaves, fifteen arecanuts ; to the Vidāné, fifteen betel leaves and seven arecanuts ; to the rest, forty-eight betel leaves, twenty-four arecanuts, and for one month fifty (nēlis) of salt, six chillies, nine fanams worth of onions, cumin seed, turmeric, &c. ; for butter and ointment for the head, twenty-two and half nēlis ; for the annual use of the Vihāra, two cloths worth a hundred fanams for two yellow robes ; one cloth for an under garment worth twenty-five fanams ; one alms (covering) cloth worth seven (fanams) ; two pieces of cloth for sore-bandages worth ten ; eight<sup>13</sup> priestly requisites, (such as) the water strainer, &c. ; one (set of) twenty-one chairs used in reciting the Magul Piritā ;<sup>14</sup> canopies, bed-sheets, curtains, screens, &c. ; for the rest of the priests, ten pieces of cloth, valued at thirty (fanams?) each, for ten robes. Moreover, the royal pleasure is that, in the case of sick priests, until their recovery from sickness, the expenses for sick diet, &c., should be borne without diminution ; that the village of Nikapaya in the District of Pānabunu granted from the place (throne) on which (the king) was seated, should be (appropriated) for the supply of the four<sup>15</sup> priestly requisites with a view to the maintenance of the Vihāra ; that five amuṇas be allowed to the (Vidāné) manager from the several villages belonging to the Vihāra ; that from the remaining income, to each of the priests coming from the four quarters, four nēlis of rice, curry worth one gold (massa), one cocoanut, half a packet of jaggery, one young cocoanut, salt, chillies, turmeric, mustard, butter, lamp oil, &c., ten betel leaves, five arecanuts (shall be given) ; and to one elderly priest, five (nēlis) rice, curry worth three gold massas, four cocoanuts, one packet of jaggery, one (nēli) of salt, two young cocoanuts, chillies, onions, turmeric, mustard, butter, and oil for the head ; thirty betel leaves, fifteen arecanuts, one cup of oil for lamps, mats, sheets, water-pots, &c., sufficient to accommodate him for three days (should be given) ; that alms be given for three days regularly to the priests who



come to the Viháré every three months ; that, after having supplied medicines, &c., to the sick priests in due order, they be escorted, when they go back, to the Viháras in the different quarters, such as, Wattala, Kēlaniya, Aturugiriya, Vídágama, and Kalutōta ; that, for (the performance of) the work in this Vihára consisting of its image-house, the dágaba, and the residence of the priests, and of the work in the Viháras attached to this Vihára, the expenses should be defrayed from the income of the respective Viháras ; that, in case of any unavoidable emergency, deliverance be effected by giving from (the income of) the Vihára ; that the villages, fields, people, beasts or common property belonging to the temples be not sold ; that they be not purchased by any one ; that the attendants of the Vihára, including the four servants of the Vihára, five messengers ? and three persons to cook food and that other attendants should constantly perform service, in conformity with the rules of the Vihára, strictly attend to all servile work due to the priests of the establishment ; to the hospitable treatment of priests who are guests (at the Vihára), and to all work of the Vihára together with other business usually assigned to them ; that when any one versed in the Three Piṭakas, in Logic, Grammar, &c., come (to this Vihára), the priests should give him maintenance and learn from him ; that those who have been guilty of the Párájiká offences should not remain here ; that those who have transgressed the other precepts should reside here (after having expiated their crimes) by observing the rules of discipline prescribed by Buddha ; that the priests who reside here should constantly study the Sutra, Abhidharma, Vinaya, Logic, Grammar, &c. ; that the workmen, &c., of the Vihára, should be duly provided with means of subsistence ; that the five-fold service of the conchs, clarions, &c., and such articles as umbrellas, white parasols, silk canopies, small drums,<sup>18</sup> head dresses,<sup>19</sup> jackets, &c., should be constantly used ; that the other expenses and offerings to the three gems should be kept up (as) regularly (?) as the necessities allowed for priests who reside here and for priests who come here. It will be well if, in conformity with this Rock-Inscription caused to be inscribed by royal command,

the two classes of Priests, Kings, Sub-kings, Prime Ministers, &c., take care to maintain this Vihára perfectly and to attain the bliss of heaven and Nirvána,<sup>20</sup> not having failed (to act properly as regards) both worlds.

On Sunday the 5th day of the bright half of the month Unduwap (November-December), in the 44th year (of his reign, the abovenamed King Sri Parákrama Báhu) with a view to procure merit for the great Queen, gave orders to Sēliya-darayarun and caused to be completed the work of the image houses, halls, cells, &c., in the Viháras of Kalubóvila, Wattala, Mahara, Mádampé, Deḍigomuwa, Navayodana, Denawaka and Aramanasala, and granted (the following lands, &c.,) to the venerable priest Sunétrá Mahadévi Piriwantera of Peṇṇiṇyána pouring out the water of donation<sup>21</sup> and dedicating them to the Three Gems, to wit :—

Fifteen amuṇas of paddy sowing extent from Kehelpat-dolavela, and houses and gardens thereabout ; Toṭakumbura recently asweḍdumised in Kasawela ; Mirisgala Kanda with the jungle and open ground thereon ; Keṇdangomuwa ; Elabaḍakumbura of two amuṇas paddy sowing extent and Deltota kumbura (both) in Mágama ; tracts of forest and low lands contained in these villages, twenty males and females ; Moratota and Paṭṭiya for the purpose of supplying furniture for the Vihára. The learned and high priests of this Vihara should cause this to continue for a long time by acting exactly in the manner above described.

If any one should hereafter disturb, encroach upon, or complain of any one of the abovementioned things given for the benefit of the Three Gems, or if any one should impose a new task by royal command, he will be born in hundred and thirty-six hells including eight principal hells, such as, Saṇjīva, Kálasútra, &c., and suffer indescribable misery and be liable to the punishment assigned to such as have been guilty of the Panchánantariya crimes, such as parricide, &c. If any persons take back land given by himself or by another, or appropriate the produce thereof, he will be born a worm in fœces (and continue in that state) for a period 60,000 years.

If any one takes away grass, or wood, or flower, or fruit which belongs to Buddha, he will become a great Préta.<sup>22</sup>

May future kings, great ministers, &c., constantly bear in mind the humble request :—

“I, Parákrama Báhu, Supreme Lord of the illustrious Lanka, the ornament of the solar race, make a request to you, O princes, who will hereafter come (to the throne of Lanka); hear ye my words. This religious act is certainly one in which the inhabitants of all the worlds are equally concerned. It is to be maintained by you at all times with feelings of joy and kindness towards me. So, let (the fruit of) my religious act be enjoyed (by you.)”

And the old saying :—

“Land (become) sacred <sup>24</sup> by donation is the only sister of all the princes in the world; it is not to be possessed nor ought any tax be imposed <sup>25</sup> on it.”

May they constantly think on the above cited words, and, with an even mind, realize <sup>26</sup> the merit which accrues from this religious act as if it was done by themselves. Let no unusual services, (such as, payment of) taxes or tribute <sup>27</sup> be imposed on the residents of the Vihára. Let no residents of the Vihára be sold away by persons of any rank. Let all these orders be strictly carried out with energy under the royal patronage.

“As between a gift and protection, protection is superior to a gift; by means of a gift one attains heaven; by means of protection one attains the imperishable state.”<sup>28</sup>

A good man, therefore, who desires to enjoy such happiness of Nirváṇa, should take a deep interest in the maintenance of the abovementioned Vihára and endeavour, by the efficacy of the same meritorious act, to see the Supreme, Omniscient Maitrí Buddha, to hear his sermons, and, at last, to enter the city of the great Nirváṇa which is tranquil, undecaying, undying, safe and immortal which was attained by the (Supreme) Buddhas, inferior Buddhas, and the great Rahats.

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## NOTES.

1. The religious act referred to, is the building of the Vihāra and endowing it with a view to its maintenance. This act is said to be *sadṛiṣaḥ* "common to all," i.e., an act in which all are interested.
2. Literally: "with joy and kindness produced towards me."  
*Sunētrā*. The last two lines of the *śloka* p. 194 (omitted by an oversight) are inserted here:—  
*Sadgrāmāni cīvīdhān pradāya sajanānārāma rūpyūṣrayān*  
*Saṅghādhinātayā chirāya tanute sthātuy śilāśāsanay*
3. One *yāla* is 1280 *kurunis* = 32 *amuṇas*
4. Dolosdabasaraṭa is Kandabaḍa Pattu, Weḷlabāḍa Pattu and the Taṅgalla District of Giruwā Pattu.
5. One *yāla* of oxen is 20 head.
6. *Nātha Maitri* is the God Nātha who is to become Maitrī Buddha.
7. One *ṇeliya* is equal to 1-32nd of a bushel.
8. One *pata* is  $\frac{1}{4}$ th of a *ṇeliya*.
9. One *massa* of gold is equal to about 32-100th of a rupee.
10. One *palama* is  $\frac{1}{16}$ th of a pound in weight.
11. One *grantha* is a stanza of the Anuṣṭūp metre consisting of 32 syllables.
12. The eight priestly requisites are the water-strainer, the alms-bowl, the three robes, the girdle, a razor, and a needle.
13. *Maṅgla pīrita*, a protectionary formula recited on festive occasions.
14. The four priestly requisites are clothing, food, bedding and medicines.
15. The word in the original is *atpāmehekirīma*, which literally means 'doing service with hands and feet.'
16. *Pāvājikā* is a term applied to the most heinous offences committed by a Buddhist priest, of which there are four, viz., sexual intercourse, theft, taking away life, and pretending to be an Arhat or possess supernatural powers.
17. The original reads *prāṇapa* which I think is a mistake of the copyist for *pranava* which means 'a small tabor' or 'drum.'
18. The word *payi* which is generally applied to a 'purse' is here rendered *ispayi* 'head-dress' as the context seems to require it.
19. This might also be rendered 'the bliss of release in heaven.'
20. The word *dakṣhiṇādaka* compounded of *dakṣhiṇā*, 'gift'; and *udaka*, 'water.' is a term applied to the ratification of a gift by pouring water on the right hand of the donee.

22. *Panchánantariya*, a term applied by the Buddhists to five deadly sins which are visited with immediate retribution, viz., matricide, parricide, the murder of an Arhat, the shedding of Buddha's blood, and schism in religion.
  23. *Préta*, a hobgoblin, a disembodied spirit subject to suffering.
  24. The original is *udāttā* which means 'great' or 'illustrious,' 'dear,' or 'beloved.'—*Wilson*.
  25. The word *karagrāhyā* which is here rendered 'tax be imposed' admits of being rendered 'is not to be married or taken with the hand.'
  26. *Anumódanwa* is literally to be pleased with, but generally used in the sense of taking pleasure in or a part of the merit acquired by another.
  27. Reading *varikara* or *varitira* for *varaṭara*. *Vari* being Tamil for 'tax,' and *kara* Sanskrit or *tira* Tamil, for 'duty,' 'tribute' or 'impost.'
  28. *Accyutan padan*, a state from which there is no fall—one of the terms for Nirwāṇa.
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## FOLK-LORE IN CEYLON.\*

BY W. GUÑATILAKA, ESQ.

*(Read, September 14th, 1882.*

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Very great interest and importance attach to the folk-lore of any nation, as is evidenced by the labors bestowed on the subject by eminent writers, and the manner in which those labors have been appreciated. The tales of a people once collected and recorded afford material alike for the ethnologist, the philologist and the historian to build upon, and enable them to arrive at truths previously unknown, and to throw fresh light upon theories which are but partially established. It is not the amusement which the tales and stories afford that makes them valuable but it is the great truths which they point to in the field of literature and science that commend them to our notice and study. Readers who wish to have some idea of the importance of folk-lore to ethnology and its cognate sciences, will find the subject fully treated in the "Chips from a German workshop" of Max Müller, and in the introduction to the "Popular Tales from the Norse" of Mr. Dasent.

While different writers have labored in the work of collecting tales in other countries, while each successive number of the "Indian Antiquary" presents to us the folk-lore of the Panjáb and other parts of India, it is a matter both of regret and surprise that no writer in Ceylon has, so far as I am aware, yet begun to work in a systematic manner in collecting the folk-lore of this Island.

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\* I was requested by the Honorary Secretary of this Society, about a month ago, to prepare a Paper to be read at this Meeting, and he suggested the Folklore of Ceylon as a subject that would be of interest. Although the time at my disposal was insufficient either to collect materials, or, when collected, to digest them, I readily accepted the undertaking, convinced that any shortcomings on my part would be excused in view of the shortness of the time given me and the difficulty of the subject to be dealt with.

Mr. Steele the author of a metrical translation of the *Kusa Játaka* has,—no doubt with the view of attracting the attention of literary men to this interesting subject,—given a few Singhalese stories as an appendix to his work, and has concluded them with the following appropriate observations :—

“ Old-world household stories are very plentiful in Ceylon. The foregoing may be of interest as shewing how rich a field, one little harvested yet, lies open to the gleaner. When it is remembered that, besides the aboriginal wild race, the Veddás, the Island is the home of Singhalese, an A'ryan race from the upper valley of the Ganges, of Tamils, of Moors, the descendants of the ancient Arab navigators, who, as Sinbad avouches, voyaged often to Serendib, of Malays, not to mention Parsís, Chinese, Kaffirs from Eastern Africa, Máldivians, Bengálís and many others,—men of widely diverse descent and creeds, the abundance of, so to speak, unwrought folk-lore will be readily recognised.

“ It is the writer's hope, should the present venture meet with favor and acceptance, to offer a large and more varied selection to the reader hereafter.”

The hope here entertained has not, I think, been realized, nor has the subject been taken up by any other writer that I am aware of.

A complete collection of the tales and stories existing in Ceylon,—and I think they exist as abundantly here as in any other country in the world,—can only be the work of time. It is therefore desirable that, rather than wait to make such a collection, writers who may wish to labor in this field of literary investigation should publish what stories they may collect in the columns of this Society's Journal as the only literary periodical in the Island.

The present Paper is merely a beginning in this direction, and it is to be hoped that other writers who are more able than myself to undertake the task, and have more leisure at their disposal than I can command, will from time to time contribute their collections to this Journal, and thus supply a store of materials for future scientific and linguistic investigations.

In the work of collection it is necessary that a great deal of care and discrimination should be exercised, for what is really wanted and what can lead us to real truths are the genuine stories of the Sinhalese—those which are quite free from foreign influences and have existed among the people from time immemorial. These can only be gathered from the inhabitants of villages and of the remoter parts of the Island into which western civilization has not yet penetrated. In the principal towns and suburbs there are now current among the Sinhalese several stories taken from English books and other sources, and hence too much care and caution cannot be exercised in deciding whether a story is really free from such influences or not.

In this paper I am able to give only one Sinhalese story out of the collection I have made. Its aim is to shew the cunning and avarice of women and the fertility of their resource when tricks have to be resorted to for the accomplishment of an object, the averting of a calamity or the getting out of a difficulty.

In order to understand the story it is necessary that the reader should know what is meant by the expressions “to take *sil*” and “to give *sil*.” *Sil* is a religious observance. “To take *sil*” is to vow or to promise and solemnly undertake to follow strictly the precepts of Buddha, not to kill, not to steal, not to drink &c. One desirous of taking *sil* attends the Paṇsala and after bowing down in reverence to the priest recites “the three *saraṇas*” as follows, the devotee repeating them after him :

*Buddhaṇ saraṇaṇ gachchhāmi,*  
*Dhammaṇ saraṇaṇ gachchhāmi,*  
*Saṅghaṇ saraṇaṇ gachchhāmi.*

This is done three times after which the commands or precepts are recited by the priest and repeated by the devotee. In this ceremony the priest is said “to give *sil*” and the devotee “to take or receive *sil*.”

I must also premise before beginning the story that when a priest is invited by a layman to his house for the purpose of performing a religious ceremony or of partaking of meals usually



called *dan* or *dána*, “a gift or any thing given,” it is not permitted to the priest to decline the invitation, except under unavoidable circumstances such as sickness or a prior engagement.

The story then runs thus.

Once on a time there was a simple and dull-witted man who had a cunning and artful wife. The woman was, however, much devoted to religion, and was a regular attendant on *póya* days at the Vihára and Paṇsala in order to worship Buddha and to receive *sil*. The man, who had previously paid no attention to religion, was one day seized all of a sudden with a desire to follow the example of his wife, and calling her immediately to his side said, “I wish to take *sil* : tell me how I should set about it.”

The wife delighted to see her husband form so good a resolution said, “Get up very early in the morning, go to the Paṇsala with a pingo of boiled rice and curries, offer them to the priest, and repeat the words which he will pronounce.”

The earnestness with which the man formed his resolution and his anxiety to act on it were so great that sleep fled from his eyes, and he impatiently watched for the dawn to hasten to the priest’s residence. Long before the break of day he set out for the Paṇsala which lay about a mile from his house. On arriving there he found the door closed, but he knocked with such violence as to rouse the priest who was fast asleep in an inner chamber.

“I wonder” said the priest to himself “who this can be that disturbs my repose at this ungodly hour.” So saying he rose and began to rub his eyes. The knocks on the door continued with redoubled vigour. The priest then jumped out of bed, and approaching the door with some degree of anxiety said “*Kavuda?*”, “Who’s there?”

The man, following literally the instructions of his wife as to repetition, replied “*Kavuda?*”

The priest could not understand how any one could be in the mood for fun at such a time or place, and drawing still nearer the door said, “*Mokada?*”, “What’s the matter?”

"*Mokada*?", repeated the man.

The priest was bewildered. He could not for the life of him understand the meaning of so strange a proceeding, and he called out in a loud and stern tone, "*Allapiya*", "Lay hold (of him)."

"*Allapiya*" was as quickly echoed forth.

The priest then went into one of the rooms to wake up his servant, and in the meantime the simpleton, hearing nothing more, concluded that the ceremony was over and returned home, leaving the pingo at the door. The priest and his servant opened the door to see what it all meant, and right glad were they to find the pingo, but they could see no one.

On reaching home the man called his wife to his side and said, "I have received *sil*: I feel such a change: I am determined to be more assiduous than you have been in the observance and practice of the rite." The man then went to work in the field, returned home in the evening, and took his dinner, but was scarce in bed before he repeated "*Kavuda? Mokada? Allapiya*."

"What's the sense of these words?", enquired the wife in surprise.

"I am reciting what the priest taught me when he gave me *sil*," said the man.

"I wonder if you're right in your head!", said the wife.

"Nay," said he, "in right good earnest I tell you, I repeat what the priest taught me. I am practising *sil*."

"Don't talk to me," retorted the woman. "If you're not mad already, you're very near it!"

The man, however, paid no attention to his wife's words believing her to be in jest, but kept repeating the words all night long at frequent intervals, to the serious disturbance of his wife's rest and that of the other inmates of the house. This went on for several nights, and nothing that the wife could think of had the effect of convincing the man of his mistake.

About this time three thieves broke into the King's Treasury at night, and stole from it a part of his treasure, consisting of gold, silver, precious stones, pearls and jewels of great value.

Carrying off their booty they came to the *pilikanna* [back part] of the man's house, and, as it was a safe and convenient spot for the division of their spoil, they began to divide it. They had hardly commenced their task when they were startled by the words "*Kavuda ? Mokada ? Allapiya*" in a loud voice from within the house.

"We are undone," said one of the thieves : "Discovered most certainly," said another : "Hush ! hush !", said the third, "the words may have been addressed to somebody else."

So they made up their minds to go on with the division, but had scarcely recommenced before the same words "*Kavuda ? Mokada ? Allapiya*" fell on their ears. Then they forthwith took to their heels leaving the booty behind.

The man hearing all the clatter outside, went to the *pilikanna* with a light, and saw to his amazement the three heaps of treasure. He immediately awoke his wife and took her to the spot. Her eyes beamed as she beheld the unexpected wealth. Husband and wife together conveyed the heaps into the house, and all was secure in trunks before the day dawned.

"Now," said the man, "was it not my observance of *sil* that brought us this luck ?"

"Yes," said the wife, "I am glad you have been so earnest in its practice."

The man's thoughts were now directed to the consideration, as to how best he might shew his gratitude to the priest who had given him *sil*.

"It is our duty," said he to his wife, "to make a gift of one-third of the wealth to the priest who gave me *sil*, and who has thus been the means of our acquiring this unlooked for fortune. Prepare breakfast for him, therefore, to-morrow morning, and I will invite him to partake of it, and to receive the offering of a third of the treasure."

"Nay, nay," said the woman, "that will never do. What the priest taught you was not *sil*."

"Nonsense," said her husband, "hold your tongue and attend to what I say. I must shew my gratitude to the priest ; I must give him a third of the wealth."

“Well, if you must—you must” said the woman.

Words and tears were of no avail. The man was firm as a rock, and his wife gave up all hopes of dissuading him from his purpose.

Next morning she prepared meals for the priest. The man called at the Paṇsala and said to the priest: “My lord, you were kind enough to give me *sil* some time ago, and I have been a constant and diligent observer of the rite ever since. The result is that I have been blessed with very valuable treasure, quite sufficient to keep me and mine comfortable for many generations to come. Condescend therefore to repair to my humble abode, partake of the meal I have prepared for you, and receive one-third of the fortune I have come by, as a token of my gratitude.”

“I never saw you before,” said the priest, “nor do I remember having ever given you *sil*.”

“Then it must be some other priest in this Paṇsala,” said the man; “it matters little which, only come and receive the gift.”

The man led the way and the priest and his servant followed, not, however, without some suspicion and fear. When they had come within sight of the house the man saw his wife standing in the compound.

“Come on leisurely,” said the man to the priest, “while I run a-head to see that everything is ready for your reception.” So saying the man ran up to his wife and whispered in her ear, “Has our neighbour brought the curds we ordered last evening?”

“Not yet.”

“I will go and fetch it then,” said he; “in the meantime give the priest a seat and attend to him till I return.”

Now when the priest saw the man whispering in the woman’s ear, his suspicions of some foul play, which had already been roused, were almost confirmed.

So when he got to the house he said to the woman, “Pray what did your husband whisper in your ear?”

“Bad luck to you !”, said the woman, “my husband is gone to fetch a rice pounder to make an end of you !”

When the priest heard this he ran as fast he could and the servant after him.

They had not run far before the man returned with the curds.

“Why are they running away?” said he.

“That’s more than I can say,” answered his wife; “but the priest told me to ask you to follow him with a rice-pounder.”

The man hastened into the kitchen, took up a rice-pounder, and away he went at full speed.

“Stop a bit! stop a bit! your Reverence,” he bellowed.

But the priest, seeing the man actually following with a rice-pounder, redoubled his steps and was soon out of sight, and the man could not find him though he searched every nook and corner of the Paṇsala.

So the man returned home and never more thought of offering the wealth to the priest, and right glad was the woman to find that her plan had succeeded so well.

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## BUDDHA'S SERMON ON OMENS.

BY LOUIS DE ZOYSA, MAHÁ MUDALIYÁR.

(Read, September 14th, 1882.)

That the Founder of Buddhism has repudiated caste and superstition both in theory and practice, is well known. A high authority\* has characterized Buddha as "the great opponent of Hindú caste and superstition." But in countries like Ceylon, in which Hindúism had prevailed before the introduction of Buddhism, caste and superstition still exist though in a modified form; and writers whose information is derived from secondary sources are apt to forget the real teachings of Buddha on these subjects. A notable instance of this I may mention here. A recent writer,† "On the Religions of India" has, according to a review of his work in the *Athenæum*, attributed the introduction of caste into Ceylon to the influence of Buddhism!

I hope to lay before the Society from time to time, translations of extracts from Buddhist writings bearing on these two subjects. In the present note I shall confine my remarks to the subject of "superstition," reserving those on "caste" for a future occasion.

A fair idea of Buddha's views on superstition may be formed on reference to two papers published in this Society's Journal. I allude to the able translation of "*Brahmajála Suttan*,"‡ by the late Revd. D. J. Gogerly, in which various superstitions are enumerated and condemned as "unworthy and animal sciences," and to my own translation of two Játakas, (*Nakkhatta* and *Námasiddhi*),§ one of which exposes the folly of

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\* The late learned Dr. Mill, Principal of Bishop's College, Calcutta.

† Mr. A. Barth. (Trübner's Oriental Series.)

‡ C. A. S. Journal 1846 (Reprint, 1861) pp. 17—62.

§ C. A. S. Journal 1880, Part II, pp. 29—33.

believing in astrology, and the other of the practice of conferring on individuals what are supposed to be lucky or auspicious names.

My special object however in the present note is to bring to light the true object of *Mangalaṇ Suttaṇ*, one of the most remarkable discourses of Buddha against "superstition," which is found in two of the canonical Scriptures of Buddhism, namely in the *Sutta Nipāta* and *Khuddaka Pāṭha* sections of the *Khuddaka Pāṭha* of the *Sutta Piṭaka*.

There are three English translations extant of this discourse—one by the late Rev. D. J. Gogerly, in the *Ceylon Friend* for June 1839, another by the late Professor R. C. Childers in his translation of the *Khuddaka Pāṭha*, and a third in the late Sir M. Coomāra Swamy's translation of *Sutta Nipāta*; but by an unhappy rendering of one expression by the learned translators, the true object of the discourse, namely, *that of exposing the folly of believing in omens*, has been completely kept out of view, and the discourse is simply regarded as a series of excellent moral maxims. Mr. Gogerly rendered the words "*etaṇ mangalaṇ uttamaṇ*," "these are chief excellencies": Mr. Childers, "this is the greatest blessing": this is also the rendering adopted by Sir M. Coomāra Swāmy.

When Mr. Childers' able and lucid translation of *Khuddaka Pāṭha* appeared in 1874, I ventured to address a letter to that gentleman referring him to the *Aṭṭhakathā* or Commentary on the discourse, which explains its origin and objects, and submitting to him whether the words "*etaṇ mangalaṇ uttamaṇ*," which he has rendered "this is the greatest blessing," should not be more correctly rendered "this is the best omen," or "these are the best omens." In reply he approved of my proposed rendering, but unfortunately having mislaid his letter, I am deprived of the gratification of producing it, but it will be seen that my late lamented friend has made the following note in the Addenda to his Pāli Dictionary Vol. II. P. 617 s. v. "*'mangalo,' 'mangalaṇ,'* means also 'an omen.' I learn from Louis de Soysa that '*etaṇ mangalaṇ uttamaṇ*' should be rendered 'this is the best omen.'"

The reasons which have induced me thus to render the words “*etan mangalaṇ uttaman*” will be seen from the following condensed translation of the introduction of this discourse in the Commentary.

“What is the origin of *mangalaṇ suttaṇ*? It was the practice for people in Jambudīpa to assemble at the gates of cities, in meeting houses and other places, and to hear the recital of various stories such as those of Sītā, Bharata, &c. The people discussed various subjects at these meetings. Each discussion some time lasted for four months. On one occasion, the subject of discussion happened to be that of *mangalaṇ* (happy or auspicious things i. e. good omens). What is a *ditṭha mangalaṇ* (a good omen of sight)? What is a *suta mangalaṇ* (a good omen of smell or taste or touch)? Do you know what a *mangalaṇ* is?, said some of the audience present). One of them, a believer in omens of sight (*ditṭha mangaliko*), said, ‘I know what a *mangalaṇ* is. For example, a man rising up early in the morning sees a speaking bird,\* tender fruits of the bilva tree (*Ægle marmelos*), a pregnant woman, a child, an ornamented brimming jar, a fresh cyprinus fish, a thorough bred horse, or the likeness of one, a bull, a cow, a tawny coloured cow, or any other object of an auspicious nature,—it is a *mangalaṇ*.’ Some of the audience accepted his theory, but those who did not entered into a dispute with him.

“A believer in omens of hearing (*suta mangaliko*) remarked that the eye sees what is pure and what is impure, what is good and what is bad, what is pleasant and what is unpleasant. If what is seen by the eye be a *mangalaṇ* (good omen), then every object of sight must be one. What is seen therefore is not a *mangalaṇ*: that which is deemed a true *mangalaṇ* is that of hearing. If a man rising up early in the morning hears a sound such as ‘it has prospered,’ ‘it is prospering,’ ‘it is full,’ ‘it is fresh,’ ‘it is delightful,’ ‘prosperity,’ ‘increase of prosperity,’ ‘the lunar constellation,’ ‘to-day is auspicious,’ ‘a lucky moment,’ a ‘lucky day,’ or any other pleasant sound deemed auspicious, this is said to be a *mangalaṇ*.

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\* Such as a parrot, mina, &c.



“Whereupon a believer in omens of smell, taste and touch, (*muta mangaliko*) addressed the meeting saying :—‘A man hears what is good and what is bad, what is pleasant and what is unpleasant ; if what is heard by the ear be a *mangalaṇ*, (good omen) then everything heard must be a good omen also. I say therefore that *suta mangalaṇ* is not a true *mangalaṇ*, and that the true *mangalaṇ* is what is called *muta mangalaṇ*. For example, if a man rising up early in the morning smells the fragrance of the lotus and other sweet smelling flowers, uses fresh dentrifice, touches the earth, or ripe corn, or fresh cow-dung, or a turtle, or a heap of sesamum seed, or flowers, or fruits, daubs (the floor) with fresh earth, puts on a new cloth, wears a new turban, or smells any other sweet smells, tastes or touches an object deemed auspicious—it is a *mangalaṇ*.’

“Thus men all over Jambudīpa formed themselves into groups, and began to discuss what the real *mangalāni* are. From men, their guardian deities, from them, their friends the terrestrial deities, from them, their friends the celestial deities, from them, their friends the deities of the Chātummahārājika heavens, and from them, all the deities as far as Akanīṭṭha, the highest of the heavens, took up the subject of *mangalaṇ*, and forming themselves into groups, began to discuss what *mangalāni* are. Thus the discussion lasted for twelve years amongst men and gods. (except among the disciples of Buddha) throughout the ten thousand worlds of the universe, but they were unable to solve the problem. At last the gods of the Tāvātīsa heavens approached Sakko, and begged of him to declare what the *mangalāni* are. The King of the gods enquired of them where the Supreme Buddha was then residing. Being told that he was then residing at Jétavana Monastery in the city of Sāvattī, he directed one of the gods to repair to him, and beg him to declare what *mangalāni* are, and the god did so.”

The sequel is told in the Suttan itself, and now I have the pleasure to reproduce Mr. Childer's masterly version of *Mangala Suttan*, only substituting the expression ‘*this is the best omen*,’ for ‘*this is the greatest blessing*.’

“Thus I have heard. On a certain day dwelt Buddha at Śrāvastī, at the Jétavana Monastery, in the garden of Anáthapiṇḍaka. And when the night was far advanced a certain radiant celestial being, illuminating the whole of Jétavana, approached the blessed one, and saluted him and stood aside. And standing aside addressed him with this verse :—

‘Many gods and men, yearning after good, have held divers things to be blessings (*good omens*) ; say thou, what is the greatest blessing (*the best omen or the best omens*) ?

Buddha :—‘To serve wise men and not serve fools, to give honour to whom honour is due, this is the greatest blessing (*this is the best omen or these are the best omens*).

‘To dwell in a pleasant land, to have done good deeds in a former existence, to have a soul filled with right desires, this is the greatest blessing (*this is the best omen or these are the best omens*).

‘Much knowledge and much science, the discipline of a well trained mind, and a word well spoken, this is the greatest blessing (*this is the best omen or these are the best omens*).

‘To succour father and mother, to cherish wife and child, to follow a peaceful calling, this is the greatest blessing (*this is the best omen or these are the best omens*).

‘To give alms, to live religiously, to give help to relatives, to do blameless deeds, this is the greatest blessing (*this is the best omen or these are the best omens*).

‘To cease and abstain from sin, to eschew strong drink, to be diligent in good deeds, this is the greatest blessing (*this is the best omen or these are the best omens*).

‘Reverence and lowliness, contentment and gratitude, to receive religious teaching at due seasons, this is the greatest blessing (*this is the best omen or these are the best omens*).

‘To be long-suffering and meek, to associate with the priests of Buddha, to hold religious discourse at due seasons, this is the greatest blessing (*this is the best omen or these are the best omens*).

‘Temperance and chastity, discernment of the four great truths, the prospect of Nirvāṇa, this is the greatest blessing (*this is the best omen or these are the best omens*).

'The soul of one unshaken by the changes of this life, a soul inaccessible to sorrow, passionless, secure, this is the greatest blessing (*this is the best omen or these are the best omens*).

'They that do these things are invincible on every side, on every side they walk in safety, yea, theirs is the greatest blessing, (*theirs are the best omens*).'

It may be remarked, how could such distinguished scholars as Gogerly and Childers have committed such a mistake as the one referred to? The matter is easily explained. They have evidently translated the word *māṅgalan* in its ordinary sense,\* without referring to the commentary which explains the special sense in which the word is used in this discourse. This is not to be wondered at, seeing that even some of the learned Buddhist Priests of the present day commit the same mistake and interpret the discourse simply as a series of moral maxims. Strangely enough, this discourse is used by Buddhists even for purposes of superstition, such as, exorcism, etc. It is so used by the Kandyan Buddhists according to Mr. C. J. R. LeMesurier, c.c.s., who, by the way, calls it "the Sutra of Festivals" which might lead one to suppose that it has some connection with the various Kandyan Hindú Festivals, which he describes in his account of "The Principal Religious Ceremonies observed by the Kandyans of Ceylon."†

It is only when this discourse is viewed by the light thrown on it by the commentary, that it appears in its true character, as one of the most powerful exposures of Hindú superstition on record.

\* *Māṅgalo* (adj.) 'Auspicious,' 'lucky,' 'joyous,' 'festive,' 'belonging to state occasions,' Ab. 88. *Māṅgalay*, 'rejoicing,' 'festival,' 'festivity,' 'holiday,' 'festive ceremony' (Dh. 247) 'blessing,' 'boon' (Kh. 5).—Childers's Pāli Dictionary, Vol. I., p. 237.

*Māṅgalya*, *Māṅgalyah*, *Māṅgalyā*, *Māṅgalyay*. 'Auspicious,' 'propitious,' 'conferring happiness,' 'prosperity,' 'beautiful,' 'pleasing,' 'agreeable,' 'pure,' 'pious.'—Wilson's Sanskrit Dictionary, Second Edition, p. 631.

† C. A. S. Journal, Vol. VII., Pt. I., No. 23, 1881, p. 39.

NOTES ON THE MICROSCOPICAL CHARACTERISTICS OF FEATHERS, AND THEIR PRESENT ANALOGY WITH A PROBABLE ABORIGINAL FORM.

BY F. LEWIS, ESQ.

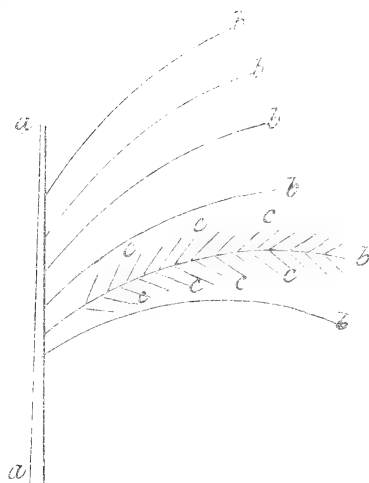
(Read, November 2nd, 1882.)

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No naturalist, or more probably, no ornithologist has ever looked upon a feather without admiring its beautiful structure, and admirable adaptation of ends to means. Here will be found a maximum of strength in a minimum of weight; adapted alike, as an organ of flight, or as a means of warmth to the creature that supports this exquisite structure. Colored in some instances only as a means of attraction, or, in others, as one of protection, and yet withal, light as proverbially, 'as a feather.'

In variety of external form, we have many, even in Ceylon birds, though of course, if the examples of variation of pattern, from all parts of the world were tabulated, a long and interesting list could be made, were such necessary. My object in the present Paper is of a further character, and one which requires a deeper investigation than that of a mere comparison of external shapes and forms.

A feather may not inaptly be likened to a cocoanut leaf or branch, as it is sometimes called. There is the shaft or quill, and from it diverge other shafts which form the webs. If a breast feather be pulled from some well-known bird, say a Woodpecker, we observe in the lower, or basal region, that the quill supports a shaft, or, as I shall call it, a *web-shaft* Fig. 1 (*bb*); which, in turn, towards the lower half of the feather bears a fine thread like process, say one-tenth of an inch long, which I shall call the *sub-web-shaft* Fig. 1 (*ccc*). In the upper or exposed part of the feather, this *sub-web-shaft* is absent, leaving the conclusion that these fine filaments are for the purpose of warmth—a con-



N°1

*Shewing (a) the Quail; (bb) the web shafts;  
and (c c c) the sub web shafts Much enlarged  
so as to shew clearly the portions in Question.*



N°2

*Sub web shaft  
of simple order.  
x 500.*



N°3

*Sub web shaft of  
the "telescopic" order  
x 500.*



N°4

*x 500.*





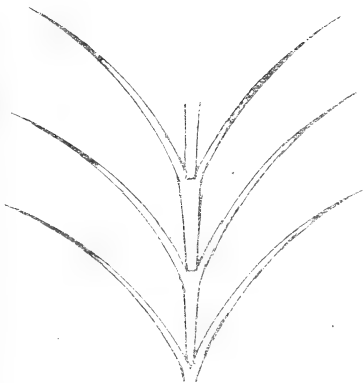
Nº 5

*Of the partially  
spinous order  
x 500.*



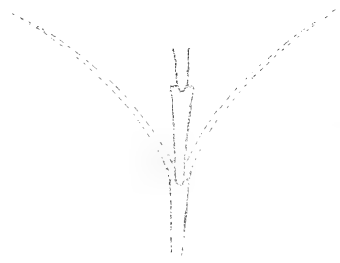
Nº 6.

*Of the highly  
spinous order  
x 500.*



Nº 7.

*The probable abroginal form*



Nº 8.





clusion by no means unreasonable, as otherwise they are useless, and further a single glance would show that this portion of the feather is closer, and hence warmer, than if these *sub-web-shafts* were absent. Supposing a *web shaft* is removed from the same feather—Woodpecker's—and placed under a microscope of some power, the *sub-web-shafts* exhibit a series of joint-like markings of a more or less modified character. See Figs. 2, 3, 4, 5, & 6.

This modification is of very considerable interest, as the conclusion that I have arrived at, after carefully examining a large series of Ceylon birds, is, that they are modifications of an aboriginal form, which I have ventured to illustrate.

I have drawn my conclusions from the fact, that at remote periods of time, it is but reasonable to conclude, that birds required a closer plumage than at present, in order to endure a colder temperature than now upon the earth, and to bring about that end a further addition to the *sub-web-shaft* would render most material assistance. I am confirmed in this view by the fact that some of our high flying eagles, such as *Spizaetus*, possess a *spine* upon the *sub-web-shaft*, that can be considered as a modified filamentous process, just as the *sub-web-shaft* is itself.

The conclusion then to be drawn is that those representing the series Fig. 2, are of a much older formation than the series Fig. 4 through process of modification, through disuse. In like manner the forms up to Fig. 6 can be traced up to what was probably the aboriginal form, Fig. 7. I am inclined to believe that any of the forms may be traced through variation and modification to the form Fig. 7, which through long ages of disuse forms the present modified structure. If then, this view be correct—and I am unable to see cause for any serious objection to it—the course of modification may be traced as represented in Fig. 8, from the aboriginal form to the present, as shewed by the dark lines, and the dotted lines, which bear a strong comparison with Fig. 7, or with Fig. 6, which last is an existing form.

I consider that by this peculiarity of structure we shall be able to trace the relative ages of existing forms of birds, which

in itself may be considered as a means of classification, if such there be. Unfortunately, I have not had the good fortune to be able to examine the plumage of birds from other countries, more especially those from the colder climates of the extreme north which would give evidence either in support, or to the contrary of my theory. For the present, I venture the subject more as a question, than as an established fact, though the evidence from local examples tends greatly to prove the force of my theory.

Climatic effects may probably bear with more or less weight upon the point, but I find the conclusion is still irresistible that each existing form can be traced to a higher, which we may call *the aboriginal parent*, and its necessity is just the same, in a larger measure, as that which supplies the present sub-web-shaft. Where warmth is unnecessary, then *sub-web-shafts* do not exist, as for instance in the tail feathers, or feathers beyond the body, and by analogy, where greater warmth is required, then the additional process would exist, which through non-necessity is now reduced to a simple, or at most a spinous joint.

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## SINGHALESE FOLK-LORE STORIES.

BY W. KNIGHT JAMES, F.R.G.S., F.R. HIST., S.

*(Read, November 2nd, 1882.)*

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The Sinhalese are essentially a social people. Some of the most important traits of their character are, deep attachment to friends, filial obedience, and love of their homes and villages. There are a few greater hardships which a Sinhalese can be called upon to undergo than separation from the home and friends of his childhood, and there are few dearer reminiscences to him, wherever he may be in after life, than those which recall the early days spent in his native village. Home stories and sayings exercise no little influence on him, and at any rate in the leisure portion of the life of the villager oral stories take an important place, whether they be the Játaka stories of the various births of Buddha,

“The preternatural tale,  
“Romance of giants, chronicle of fiends,”

or the more modest stories that relate the doings of the people. In the Sinhalese home it is true that the “fireside” with which we connect the story-telling of harsher climes is absent, but it finds its representative in the little verandah or in the roadside, and often when the family have retired to rest for the night in the single room and verandah which generally form the “house” of the Sinhalese cultivator, one member, frequently the grandfather relates stories to the others until he finds that the “dull god” has drawn away his audience. In the night as two or three villagers sit guarding the ripening grain of their paddy fields from the inroads of elephant, buffalo or boar, stories serve to wile away what would be otherwise a weary vigil, and on numerous other common-place occasions story-telling plays an important part. Some of these stories throw considerable light

on the modes of thought, manners, and customs of the people, and also may perhaps be of some value in comparative folklore, I therefore give translations of a few of these village stories.

### I.—THE TRIAL AT AVICHÁRA-PURA.\*

In the neighbourhood of Badulla there is among the Sinhalese a saying, when justice appears to have miscarried :

“*Avichára-puré naḍuwa wágeyi*,”—“Like the trial at Avichárapura.”

The story on which the saying is founded is without doubt of considerable age and contains rich satire :—

One night some thieves broke into the house of a rich man and carried away all his valuables. The man complained to the Justice of the Peace, who had the robbers captured, and when brought before him enquired of them whether they had anything to say in their defence. “Sir,” said they, “we are not to blame in this matter : the robbery was entirely due to the mason who built the house ; for the walls were so badly made, and gave way so easily, that we were quite unable to resist the temptation of breaking in.” Orders were then given to bring the mason to the Court-house. On his arrival he was informed of the charge brought against him. “Ah,” said he, “the fault is not mine, but that of my cooly, who made mortar badly.” When the cooly was brought he laid the blame on the potter whom he said had sold him a cracked chatty, in which he could not carry sufficient water to mix the mortar properly. Then the potter was brought before the judge, and he explained that the blame should not be laid upon him, but upon a very pretty woman who in a beautiful dress was passing his house at the time he was making the chatty, and had so riveted his attention that he forgot all about the work. When the woman appeared, she protested that the fault was not hers, for she would not have been in that neighbourhood at all had the goldsmith sent home her earrings at the proper time ; the charge she urged should properly be brought against him.

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\* *A*, ‘without’ ; *vichára*, ‘enquiry’ ; *pura*, ‘city.’

The goldsmith was brought and as he was unable to offer any reasonable excuse, he was condemned to be hanged. Those in the Court however begged the Judge to spare the goldsmith's life ; "for," said they, "he is very sick and ill-favoured and would not make at all a pretty spectacle"; "but," said the judge, "somebody must be hanged." Then they drew the attention of the Court to the fact that there was a fat Moorman in a shop opposite who was a much fitter subject for an execution, and asked that he might be hanged in the goldsmith's stead. The learned Judge, considering that this arrangement would be very satisfactory, gave judgment accordingly.

## II.—THE GOLDSMITH WHO CHEATED HIS MOTHER.

Of all workmen the Singhalese regard the native goldsmith with the greatest suspicion. This is due no doubt to the fact that, whenever opportunity occurs, he appropriates a portion of the precious metal entrusted to him, often substituting for it that of a baser kind. There are many sayings in the language to the effect that 'whoever else is to be trusted, a goldsmith is not'; and there is a popular belief that 'a goldsmith would cheat his own mother', in illustration of which the following story is told :—

A certain woman possessed a large piece of gold made up in the form of a frog,\* which had been a heir-loom in her family for many years. She, though wishing to keep the metal, was anxious to have it made up in the form of ornaments, which she could wear and display before her friends. She was afraid to take it to a goldsmith, for she knew that they all had the reputation of being rogues, and that she would most likely be cheated. It, therefore, occurred to her that the safest way would be to have her son apprenticed to the trade: this she accordingly did. When he had learned it sufficiently well, she took the golden frog to him and requested him to make it into the ornaments she required. The cunning fellow first obtained a live frog and placed it among the ashes of his fire-place, and then, whilst his mother stood by, took the golden

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\* S. *Gemadīyā*.

one, put it among the ashes also, and commenced to blow the fire to melt it down. The live-frog feeling uncomfortable in the heat immediately jumped out and hopped away. "See, dear mother", said he, "your frog is gone. How can you expect me to make ornaments from a living thing?" "Oh, my dear son", said the mother, "what is worse than bad fortune? My lump of gold has turned into a lump of flesh."

### III.—A STORY OF TWO ROGUES.

There are several stories which relate to the sharp-wittedness of people from different villages, towns, or districts, and which, seem to imply much the same as is expressed in our English proverb "set a thief to catch a thief." The following is well-known, and, although the story varies somewhat in different localities, is in substance the same. The names given to the two rogues vary with the place where it is told, but they are, as far as I have heard, always the names of different villages, or districts, with the affix *yá* or *wá* thus *Gampolayá* and *Rayigamayá*, 'a Gampola man' and 'Rayigama man'; *Migamúwá* and *Mátarayá*, 'a Negombo man' and 'Mátara man':—

Two men who lived in different districts, and who depended principally on their wits for a livelihood, started off one day about the same time each to pay a visit to the other. On their way they met, and agreed to go together in search of adventure. As they went on they heard the sound of weeping at a certain house and, finding the friends of a dead man mourning for him, they went and joined in the lamentations. When the question of the division of the deceased's property arose, they put in their claim. "Who are you?", the people asked, "and what right have you to any of the property?" "Was not this our own poor old grandfather whom we have not seen for these many years?", said the men weeping. The friends at the house were so affected by the grief of the strangers, that they agreed to go that evening to the grave of the dead man, and see if he would express any wish in the matter. One of the rogues slipped out unobserved and laid himself beside the grave. "Is it your will that these two

strange persons should have any share in your property ?”, asked one. “You are all my children : divide it amongst you fairly”, came in sepulchral tones from the grave. Having received a box containing some valuable articles, they started off, and after journeying for some time lay down to rest near the sea-shore, placing the box between them. One, finding the other asleep shortly afterwards, took the box, and, going into the sea as high as the armpits, buried it in the sand ; then going back again to his place fell asleep. Soon afterwards the second man awoke, and, finding his neighbour asleep and the box gone, guessed what had been done with it. He therefore commenced to lick along the whole length of his body, and, finding the taste of salt did not go above his armpits, knew the depth where it was buried. Having discovered the box, he carried it away, and hid himself in one of a number of ricks of straw that were standing a short distance off. On the other man awakening, he knew that his friend had discovered the treasure and made off with it, but, as had not had time to escape far, he thought that he was most likely hiding in one of the heaps of straw hard by. Tying a *sokaḍa* (wooden bullock bell) round his neck he went on his hands and knees knocking his head against each of the ricks. The man who was hiding hearing the noise and thinking it was a buffalo, shouted out “*Jah ! jah ! koṭiyá ká\** !” and so was discovered. After this, it is said, they divided the spoil equally.

#### IV.—HOW THE TUMPANÉ FOLK WENT A-BEES’-NESTING.

Among the folk stories of the Sinhalese there are a large number which relate to simpletons,—a class of stories which we find in most countries. The following bears some resemblance to the story of the Wise Men of Gotham, who, seeing the reflection of the full moon in the river Trent as they passed over, and thinking it to be a cheese lying at the bottom, lowered one of their number with a rope to reach it.

One day a man in *Tumpané* (a district renowned for its foolish people) wanted some honey for his daughter who was

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\* An imprecation, lit. “May a tiger eat you !”

very sick : so he got his friends to assist him, and they started off to the forest in order to find a bees' nest. As they were passing by a deep pond, they beheld the reflection of one which was suspended on an overhanging tree. Having tried vainly to grasp the nest in the water, they thought that it must be deeper down than they supposed, and one of their number was, therefore, sent in. Believing, as he was unable to touch it, that he could not get down far enough, they tied a large stone round his neck. The other fools stood by the whole day waiting for the man to come up with the honey.

#### V.—HOW A TUMPANÉ MAN CURED HIS MOTHER.

Once upon a time a half-witted villager bought a bullock to use in his hackery, and, as he took it away, the dealer (a philosopher in his way) repeated to him this proverb :

"*Harak diya-badu wágé*," lit. "cattle are like watery things," (that is, they are perishable, and consequently require a great deal of care and attention). The man, however, took the saying literally, and, noticing water coming from the bullock as it went along, thought that it had already commenced to dissolve. He was now very anxious to dispose of his bullock before the process went farther, and a man happening to be passing with a *ketta* (bill-hook) in his hand, the owner of the bullock asked 'what the *ketta* would do': "fell jungle", said the man. It was then agreed that an exchange should be made of the bullock for the *ketta*. The half-witted fellow took the axe, and going to some jungle land which belonged to him, placed it upon a stone and went away. Some time afterwards he returned to see how much jungle it had felled, but was surprised to find that it had not cut even a single tree. When he picked it up he found the iron was quite warm, and concluded that it had not been able to work that day as it was suffering from fever. He, therefore, went to the doctor, who, knowing how foolish the man was, appeased him by telling him to bury it in a cool spot until the morning and he would then find the fever gone. The man did as he was told, and found his *ketta* quite cool. Next day, however, his mother had a severe attack of fever, and, remembering



the medicine that had cured his *ketta*, he took the poor old woman to the same spot, and making a bigger hole carefully covered her up.

## VI.—HUNTING A PALM-CAT.

A long time ago there lived in *Tumpané* a newly married couple. One evening as the wife was commencing to prepare her husband's dinner she heard the cry of a *kalavēddā* (palm-cat) in a tree near the house, and, thinking if she could manage to catch it she might surprise her husband with a good meat curry, went out with the dog, saying "*usi, usi*," (urging on the dog). The dog ran to the foot of the tree barking and placed his forefeet on the trunk. She, thinking that he was trying to climb it, began to make him a *valalla* (a ring put round the ankles when climbing a tree). Just at that time the husband returned, and seeing what she was doing chided her for her foolishness, saying that 'he would shew her the way to get the dog up the tree.' Procuring a long stake he sharpened one end of it and sticking it into the dog hoisted him up to where the palm-cat was. The poor animal in agony whined *bē! bē!* "Say not '*bē! bē!* (I cannot, I cannot)'" said the man "but lay hold of the palm-cat!"

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RUINS AT VEHERAGALA.\*

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The ruins in question are known as "*Veheragala*" and are situated about two miles South of the 10th mile-post on the Anurádhapura road.

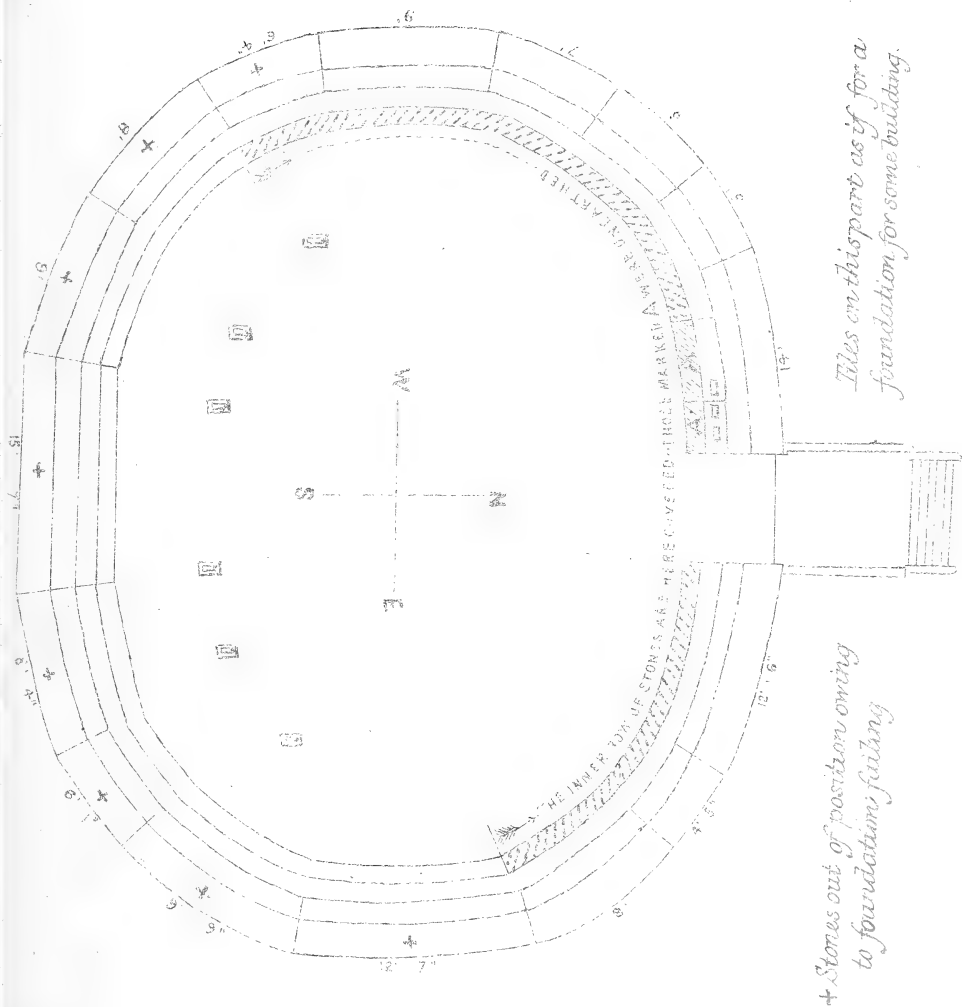
They consist for the most part of groups of stone pillars more or less roughly squared, and are probably the remains of palaces and *Viháres*. The jungle is, however, so thick, and the ruins are so overgrown, that it is difficult to conjecture, from their formation, to what period they belong.

The only really interesting ruin which has so far been discovered, is that of an oval building, found upon a rocky mound, and the base of which is constructed of huge slabs of stone, (the shape of which is very peculiar) laid upon oblong blocks. They are cut into segments of a circle, each segment being 8 ft. to 12 ft. by 7 ft.  $\times$  7 in. or 8 in. thick. These slabs are also concave on the upper side and convex on the lower, but whether this was intentional, or the result of being wedged out of laminated rock—with which the neighbourhood abounds,—is not apparent. Another curious feature of the building is, that the oblong blocks upon which these slabs are laid, (and which seem to have formed the foundations) built upon the solid rock were morticed together, the sockets and notches being very distinct. The building faces North, on which side there is a flight of stone steps leading to the entrance, and its dimensions are, from North to South 56 feet, and from East to West 78 feet.

If this structure was intended for a *Tope* or *Dágaba*—which, considering that it was not circular, is, I think, unlikely—it was never completed, and appears to have been temporarily used for some other purpose; for at the South end there are five spur stones, arranged in a curve, and upon which pillars must have

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\* Extract from letter dated September 25th, 1882, from P. A. Templer, Esq., C.C.S., Assistant Government Agent, Puttalam, to the Government Agent, North-Western Province,—*Hon. Sec.*



• RUINS AT VEHERAGALA.

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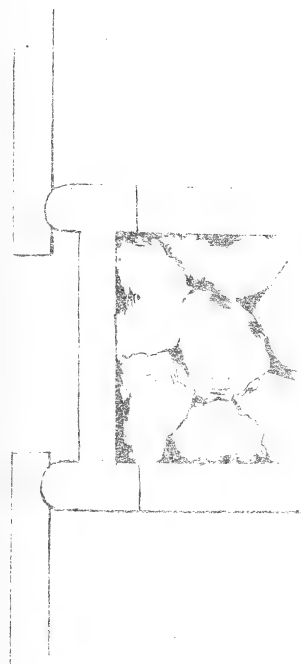
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Section showing position of large  
Slab at North Entrance.



Rock.

RUINS AT VEHERAGALA.



rested. As there are no remains of these pillars to be seen they were probably made of wood ; and the debris of earth, bricks and tiles, which fill up the space inside the stone work, shows that a building of not very permanent character did exist at sometime.

On the slab rock near the flight of steps is an inscription, much of which was buried in earth. It is of the roughest kind and very difficult to copy in consequence. I have, however, had a copy made of it by Mr. F. Navaratna which I annex. The characters are not Déwanágarí, though some of them bear some resemblance thereto.

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I annex tracing of a ground plan, sketched by Mr. C. T. D. Vigers, C.C.S., which gives the exact dimensions of the slabs forming the ring, and a very good idea of the elevation on the east side. A sketch is also annexed which I made from the top of a rock overlooking the building on the west side. This shows the peculiar shape of the slabs and the notches and sockets in the foundation blocks.\*



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\* The ground plan and inscription are here reproduced.—*Hon. Sec.*

## THE CONNECTION OF THE SINGHALESE WITH THE MODERN ÁRYAN VERNACULARS OF INDIA.

By W. P. RAÑASINHA, Esq.

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Is Singhalese to be placed under the Turanian family of languages with Tamil, Telugu, &c., or under the Indo-Germanic family, along with Hindí, Bengálí, Panjábí, Sindhí, Maráthí, Gujaráthi, Nepáli, Oriya, Assamese, and Káshmirí ?

The Turanian family of languages has not got beyond the collocational or syntactical and agglutinated stages, whilst the Singhalese has not only reached the inflectional stage, like Sanskrít, Greek and Latin, but has also advanced to the analytical, like the English, French, &c. : examples are කරයි, *karayi*, "he does"; යයි, *yayi*, "he goes"; දෙයි, *deyi*, "he gives," &c. Here we find the stems කර, *kara*, ය, *ya*, and දෙ, *de*, which are derived from the Sanskrít roots कृ, *kṛi*, या, *yá*, and द, *dá*, with an inflection යි, *yi*. This යි, *yi*, is again divisible into two parts ය්, *y*, and ඉ, *i*. The ය්, *y*, is merely an augment adopted for the purpose of avoiding the hiatus which would otherwise occur if after the stem the ඉ, *i*, were pronounced alone. The ඉ, *i*, here is the remnant of ති, *ti*, in the Sanskrít verbs කරති, *karoti*, "he does"; භරති, *bharati*, "he bears," &c. Mr. Beames points out that ති, *ti*, is equal to the English *s* in "he bears, &c." In Greek φέρει, he says, we have *i* equal to the English pronoun "he." In Latin *fert* the *i* is lost and *t* alone remains. In Gothic *bairēth* we have *th* ; here too the *i* is lost. In English "beareth" the *i* is lost, and the *th* alone remains. The English *th* and the Singhalese *i* are parts of the same termination ති, *ti*. This *th* in English, he points out, is still further modified in the modern language into *s* as in "bears," "fears," &c. So the English *s* and the Singhalese ඉ, *i*, in the third person singular number present tense of the indicative mood, can be traced to the Áryan ති, *ti*,—the English taking the first part of the termination and further modifying



it into *s*, the Singhalese rejecting the first part, and taking the vowel alone, and inserting a *ය*, *y*, to avoid the hiatus.

The *ය*, *y*, in කරයි, *karayi*, &c., is an augment and not a substitute for *ත*, *t*. We have in කෙරේ, *keré*, යේ, *yé*, and දෙ, *de*, other forms of the above verbs, meaning “he does,” “he goes” and “he gives.” Here we find the ද, *i*, without the *ය*, *y*. By the rule of *sandhi adigecornuvri*, the vowel ද, *i*, following the අ, *a*, in කර, *kara*, කර+අ+ද, *kar+a+i*, becomes එ, *e*, that is to say, both the අ, *a*, and ද, *i*, are lost, and එ, *e*, is substituted in their place; hence the word කෙර, *kare*, and by the force of the vowel එ, *e*, in රේ, *ré*, the word becomes කෙරේ, *keré*, “he does”; similarly ය+අ+ද, *y+a+i*, becomes යේ, *yé*, “he goes”; and ද+අ+ද, *d+a+i*, becomes දෙ, *de*, “he gives.”

Now, although we never write කරද, *karai*, යද, *yai*, and දෙයි, *deyi*, but කරයි, *karayi*, යයි, *yai*, and දෙයි, *deyi*, yet they are pronounced කරද, *karai*, යද, *yai*, and දෙද, *dei*, as if they had been written so. This also is proof that the *ය*, *y*, is merely an augment.

In the book language we have the following terminations :—

	Singular.	
	Present.	Future
1.	කරමි, <i>karami</i> , “I do.”	කරන්නෙමි, <i>karannemi</i> , “I will do.”
2.	කෙරෙහි, <i>kerēhi</i> , “You do.”	කරන්නෙහි, <i>karannehi</i> , “You will do.”
3.	කෙරේ, <i>keré</i> , “He does.”	කරන්නේ, <i>karanné</i> , “He will do.”

#### Past

1. කළෙමි, *halēmi*, “I did.”
2. කෙළෙහි, *helehi*, “You did.”
3. කළේ, *kelé*, “He did.”

But in the spoken language these perhaps were found to be a great encumbrance, and a form කරනවා, *karaṇawá*, has come to be used in the present and future tenses without any distinction as to number or person : and it is now necessary to say මම කරනවා, *mama karaṇawá*, “I do;” උන කරනවා, *ú karaṇawá*, “he does;” මම හෙට කරනවා, *mama heṭa karaṇawá*, “I will do to-morrow.” Sometimes කරවි, *karávi*, and කරනවා අති, *karaṇawá eti*, are used. The past tense in the

colloquial is කලා, *kalá*. This too having no inflections to shew the number or person, the pronouns have to be prefixed :—මම කලා, *mama kalá*, “I did” ; අපි කලා, *api kalá*, “we did” ; උ ඔහු කලා, *ú kalá*, “he did,” &c. We have here both the inflectional and analytical stages. Thus by classification Sinhalese must be grouped under the Indo-Germanic family. “But,” it is said “classification is not in itself sufficient for purposes of analysis” Let us therefore, look for other peculiarities. In the Turanian group, it is said that nouns are not distinct from verbs. In Sinhalese they are : කර, *kara*, ය, *ya*, දෙ, *de*, සිටි, *siti*, &c.,—are always verbs and never nouns ; nor could a noun be converted into a verb except by the addition of a verb, as පැලකරමි, *pēlakarami*, “I grow” ; දියවෙයි, *diyaveyi*, “it becomes liquid” ; දියකරමි, *diyakarami*, “I liquify.”

Another characteristic of the Áryan language, says Mr. Beames, is “that the noun possesses three numbers, singular, dual and plural ; and numerous cases each distinguished by a peculiar and inseparable termination.”

We have in Sinhalese only the singular and the plural numbers, the dual is lost, as in English. The case endings are inseparable, that is to say, if separated from the stem, as ම, *ta*, in මම, *mata*, “to me,” they have no meaning in themselves, and here the ම, *ta*, when separated has no meaning in itself.

We have the following terminations in nouns :—

#### Masculine

මිනිස්, *minis*, “Man.”

	Singular		Plural
Nom. ආ,	á	හු,	<i>hu</i>
Acc. ආ,	á	න්,	<i>un</i>
Inst. ආ (විසින්),	á ( <i>visin</i> )	න්, (විසින්)	<i>un (visin)</i>
Aux.			
Dat. ආට,	áta	න්ට,	<i>unta</i>
Abl. ආගෙන්,	ágen	න්ගෙන්,	<i>ungen</i>
Gen. ආගේ,	ágé	න්ගේ,	<i>unge</i>
Loc.			
Voc. ආ, ඔ,	a, ó	නි,	<i>uni</i>

## Feminine,

ගැනි *gēni*, "Woman."

Sing.		Plur.
<i>Nom.</i>	ඌ, <i>i</i>	ඌ, ඹ, <i>u, ó</i>
<i>Acc.</i>		ඌන්, අන්, <i>un, an</i>
<i>Inst.</i>		ඌන්, අන්, <i>un, an</i>
<i>Aux.</i>		
<i>Dat.</i>	ට, <i>ta</i>	ඌන්ට, අන්ට, <i>unṭa, anṭa</i>
<i>Abl.</i>	ගෙන්, <i>gen</i>	{ ඌන්ගෙන්, <i>ungen</i> }
		{ අන්ගෙන්, <i>angen</i> }
<i>Gen.</i>	ගේ, <i>gé</i>	{ ඌන්ගේ, <i>ungé</i> }
		{ අන්ගේ, <i>angé</i> }
<i>Loc.</i>		
<i>Voc.</i>	ඌ <i>é</i> අ <i>a</i>	{ ඌන්, <i>uné</i> }
		{ අන්, <i>ané</i> }

## Neuter

ගස්, *gas*, "Tree."

Singular		Plural
<i>Nom.</i>	අ, <i>a</i>	{ same as stem.
<i>Acc.</i>	අ, <i>a</i>	
<i>Inst.</i>		
<i>Aux.</i>	එන්, <i>en</i>	වලින්, <i>valin</i>
<i>Dat.</i>	අට, <i>aṭa</i>	වලට, <i>valaṭa</i>
<i>Abl.</i>	එන්, <i>en</i>	වලින්, <i>valin</i>
<i>Gen.</i>		
<i>Loc.</i>	එ, <i>é</i>	වල, <i>vala</i>
<i>Voc.</i>	අ, <i>a</i>	වලනි, <i>valani</i>

The verb has three forms for the three persons and no forms for the three genders. Thus :—ඌ ගේ, *ú yé*, "he goes" අ ඇ ගේ, *é yé*, "she goes"; නැව ගේ, *newa yé*, "the ship goes."

"In the Áryan languages the personal terminations of the verb are abraded pronouns, or rather pronominal types." So are they in Singhalese.

In Prākṛit the terminations are :—

## Present Tense.

## Singular.

- 1 මි, *mi* as හසමි, *hasami*, "I smile"
- 2 සි, *si* as හසසි, *hasasi*, "You smile"
- 3 ඉ, *i* as හසඉ, *hasai*, "He smiles"

## Plural.

- 1 මො, මු *mo, mu*, as හසමු, *hasimo, hasimu*, "We smile"
- 2 හ, *ha*, as හසහ, *hasaha*, "Ye smile"
- 3 අන්ති, *anti*, as හසන්ති, *hasanti*, "They smile"

The terminations of the future tense are the same, with *ඉසා*, *issa*, prefixed to them.

“Another striking characteristic of this family,” says Mr. Beames, “is its power of expressing complicated ideas or strings of ideas by compounds. Several words are joined together, and the case and tense-endings are added to the last word only, the first member of the compound being either a preposition or a noun, or even a verb. This power is not possessed by other families” This power the Sinhalese language possesses in a preeminent degree, බඹ සුර නර ජ නමිදින, *Bamba sura naró namadit*, given in the *Sidat Sangará* is a familiar example.

I have here attempted to shew that most of the characteristics of the Áryan languages do also apply to the modern Sinhalese.

The following languages, as was said before, belong to the Indic class of the Indo-Germanic family, Hindí, Bengálí, Panjábí, Sindhí, Maráthí, Gujarathí, Oṛiya, and Kashmíri. Following Mr. Beames' excellent work on the Philology of these languages I shall endeavour to shew the connection of Sinhalese with this family.

The numerals, says Mr. Beames, are those parts of speech which retain their forms with the greatest tenacity, and offer the most obvious similarities. Let us compare the Sinhalese with the Indian vernacular numerals.

## NUMERALS.

Sanskrit.	Pāli.	Prākṛit.	Hindī.	Panjābī.	Sindhī.	Gujarāthī.	Marāṭhī.	Oṛiya.	Bengālī.	Sinhalese, (Old).	Sinhalese, (Modern).
1. <i>ēka</i>	<i>cha</i>	<i>ekha</i>	<i>ek</i>	<i>hū</i>	<i>hiku</i>	<i>ek</i>	<i>eka</i>	<i>eko</i>	<i>ék</i>	<i>eka</i>	<i>eka</i>
2. <i>dvi</i>	<i>duve</i> <i>dwe</i>	<i>do</i>	<i>do</i>	<i>do</i>	<i>bba</i>	<i>be</i>	<i>dōn</i>	<i>dui</i>	<i>dui</i>	<i>de</i>	<i>de</i>
3. <i>tri</i>	<i>ti</i> <i>tiṇi</i>	<i>tiṇi</i>	<i>tīn</i>	<i>tinna</i>	<i>te</i>	<i>laṇa</i>	<i>tina</i>	<i>lini</i>	<i>tīn</i>	<i>ṣ tuṇa or</i> <i>te</i>	<i>tina</i>
4. <i>chatur</i>	<i>chaturō</i>	<i>chattāri</i>	<i>chār</i>	<i>chār</i>	<i>chāri</i>	<i>chār</i>	<i>chār</i>	<i>chāri</i>	<i>chāri</i>	<i>ṣiv</i>	<i>ṣ satura</i>
5. <i>pañcha</i>	<i>pañcha</i>	<i>pañcha</i>	<i>pānch</i>	<i>pañ</i>	<i>pañja</i>	<i>pānch</i>	<i>pānch</i>	<i>pancho</i>	<i>pānch</i>	<i>pusu</i>	<i>ṣ hatura</i>
6. <i>shash</i>	<i>chha</i>	<i>chha</i>	<i>chha</i>	<i>chhe</i>	<i>chhu</i>	<i>chha</i>	<i>sahā</i>	<i>chho</i>	<i>choi</i>	<i>su</i>	<i>paha</i>
7. <i>sapta</i>	<i>satta</i>	<i>satta</i>	<i>sāt</i>	<i>sot</i>	<i>sata</i>	<i>sāt</i>	<i>sāt</i>	<i>shāto</i>	<i>sāt</i>	<i>satu</i>	<i>ha</i>
8. <i>ashta</i>	<i>aṭṭha</i>	<i>aṭṭha</i>	<i>āṭh</i>	<i>aṭh</i>	<i>aṭha</i>	<i>āṭh</i>	<i>āṭh</i>	<i>āṭho</i>	<i>āṭh</i>	<i>aṭa</i>	<i>hata</i>
9. <i>navan</i>	<i>nava</i>	<i>ṇau</i>	<i>nan</i>	<i>naun</i>	<i>nanvan</i>	<i>nava</i>	<i>nan</i>	<i>noo</i>	<i>noy</i>	<i>nava</i>	<i>ṣ nava</i>
10. <i>daśan</i>	<i>daśa</i>	<i>dasa</i>	<i>das</i>	<i>das</i>	<i>daḥu</i>	<i>daṣ</i>	<i>das</i>	<i>doṣho</i>	<i>daṣ</i>	<i>dasa</i>	<i>ṣ nama</i>
11. <i>ekādaśa</i>	<i>ekādasa</i>	<i>eāraha</i>	<i>igāraha</i> <i>gyāraha</i>	<i>giārān</i>	<i>ṣ ikārahām</i> <i>ṣ yārahām</i>	<i>āgiar</i>	<i>aharā</i>	<i>egār</i>	<i>egar</i>	<i>ṣ eru</i>	<i>duha</i>
12. <i>dwādaśa</i>	<i>dwādasa</i> <i>dwārasa</i>	<i>vāraha</i>	<i>bāraha</i>	<i>bārām</i>	<i>bārahām</i>	<i>bāra</i>	<i>bārā</i>	<i>bāra</i>	<i>būro</i>	<i>ṣ ehoḷosa</i>	<i>ekoḷaha</i>
13. <i>trayodaśa</i>	<i>teḷasa</i> <i>terasa</i>	<i>tēraha</i>	<i>tēraha</i>	<i>tērām</i>	<i>tērahām</i>	<i>terā</i>	<i>terā</i>	<i>tera</i>	<i>terō</i>	<i>ṣ bara</i> <i>ṣ doḷosa</i>	<i>doḷaha</i>
14. <i>chaturdaśa</i>	<i>chuddasa</i> <i>choddasa</i> <i>chotuddasa</i>	<i>chauddaha</i>	<i>chaudaha</i>	<i>chaudām</i>	<i>choḍahām</i>	<i>chauda</i>	<i>chaudā</i>	<i>chauda</i>	<i>chaudḍa</i>	<i>ṣ teles</i> <i>ṣ tera</i>	<i>dahatnna</i>
15. <i>pañchadaśa</i>	<i>pañnarasa</i> <i>pañchadasa</i>	<i>pañnaraha</i>	<i>pandraha</i>	<i>pandarām</i>	<i>ṣ pundrahām</i> <i>ṣ pandhrām</i>	<i>pandura</i>	<i>pandhtrā</i>	<i>pandhara</i>	<i>ponera</i>	<i>ṣ tudusa</i>	<i>ṣ dasasatara</i> <i>ṣ dahahatara</i>
16. <i>shoḍaśa</i>	<i>śoḷasa</i> <i>sorasa</i>	<i>sōlahu</i>	<i>sōlahu</i>	<i>sōlām</i>	<i>sōruham</i>	<i>sōḷa</i>	<i>sōḷā</i>	<i>sōhaḷa</i>	<i>ṣ shōḷa</i>	<i>ṣ paṇara</i> <i>ṣ pasāḷos</i>	<i>ṣ pahaḷos</i> <i>ṣ pasāḷos</i>
17. <i>saptadaśa</i>	<i>sattadasa</i> <i>sattarasa</i>	<i>sattaraha</i>	<i>sattaraha</i>	<i>satūrām</i>	<i>satrohām</i>	<i>satara</i>	<i>satrā</i>	<i>satara</i>	<i>satēra</i>	<i>ṣ soḷos</i>	<i>dahasaya</i>
18. <i>ashṭādaśa</i>	<i>aṭṭhādaśa</i> <i>aṭṭhārasa</i>	<i>attharaha</i>	<i>aṭhāraha</i>	<i>aṭhārām</i>	<i>aḍahām</i>	<i>ṣ aḍhāra</i> <i>ṣ arāḍā</i>	<i>aṭharā</i>	<i>aṭhara</i>	<i>aṭhāra</i>	<i>ṣ satāḷos</i>	<i>dahahata</i>
19. <i>ūnaviṃsati</i>	<i>ekunavisati</i>	<i>ūnavisai</i>	<i>unīsa</i>	<i>unniha</i>	<i>unīha</i>	<i>oganīsa</i>	<i>ekūnīsa</i>	<i>unaiṣ</i>	<i>īnīs</i>	<i>ṣ aṭhāḷos</i> <i>ṣ ekunvisi</i> <i>ṣ unuvisi</i>	<i>dahaḍaṭa</i> <i>duhanavaya</i>
20. <i>viṃsati</i>	<i>visati</i>	<i>visai</i>	<i>ṣ bisā</i> <i>ṣ koḍi</i>	<i>viha</i>	<i>viha</i>	<i>visā</i>	<i>visa</i>	<i>kuḍie</i>	<i>viṣa</i>	<i>ṣ visi</i> <i>ṣ tis</i>	<i>visi</i>
30. <i>triṃsat</i>	<i>tinsati</i>	<i>tisā</i>	<i>tisa</i>	<i>tiha</i>	<i>trihā</i>	<i>trisa</i>	<i>tisa</i>	<i>triṣa</i>	<i>triṣa</i>		<i>tiha</i>
40. <i>chatwāriṃsat</i>	<i>chattālisa</i>	<i>chattālisa</i>	<i>chālisa</i>	<i>chālī</i>	<i>chālīha</i>	<i>chālisa</i>	<i>chālisa</i>	<i>chālisa</i>	<i>challisa</i>	<i>ṣ sālīs</i> <i>ṣ satālīs</i>	<i>hataḷīha</i>
50. <i>pañchāśat</i>	<i>paññāsa</i>	<i>paññāsā</i>	<i>pachāsa</i>	<i>pañjāhu</i>	<i>pañjāhu</i>	<i>pachāsa</i>	<i>paññāsa</i>	<i>pachāṣa</i>	<i>pañchāsa</i>	<i>ṣ paṇasa</i>	<i>pañaha</i>
60. <i>shashṭī</i>	<i>saṭṭhi</i>	<i>saṭṭhi</i>	<i>sāṭha</i>	<i>saṭṭh</i>	<i>sāṭhi</i>	<i>sāṭha</i>	<i>sāṭha</i>	<i>sāṭhie</i>	<i>sāṭha</i>	<i>ṣ saṭa</i>	<i>heṭa</i>
70. <i>saptati</i>	<i>sattati</i>	<i>sattari</i>	<i>sattar</i>	<i>sattara</i>	<i>satari</i>	<i>sittera</i>	<i>sattara</i>	<i>sattiri</i>	<i>suttara</i>	<i>ṣ settē</i>	<i>heṭṭe</i>
80. <i>aṣṭi</i>	<i>asṭi</i>	<i>assi</i>	<i>assī</i>	<i>assi</i>	<i>asī</i>	<i>ensi</i>	<i>enṣi</i>	<i>aṣi</i>	<i>aṣi</i>	<i>ṣ asū</i>	<i>asū</i>
90. <i>navuti</i>	<i>navuti</i>	<i>naue</i>	<i>navve</i>	<i>navve</i>	<i>nave</i>	<i>nevun</i>	<i>navvada</i>	<i>nabe</i>	<i>nubbai</i>	<i>ṣ anū</i>	<i>anū</i>
100. <i>sata</i>	<i>sata</i>	<i>ṣ sata</i> <i>ṣ saya</i>	<i>ṣ sai</i> <i>ṣ nos</i>	<i>ṣ sai</i> <i>ṣ sou</i>	<i>sou</i>	<i>ṣo</i>	<i>ṣ sēn</i> <i>ṣ sambhara</i>	<i>ṣaē</i>	<i>ṣaya</i>	<i>ṣ siya</i>	<i>siya</i>



It will be perceived at a glance that the Singhalese has followed the Prākṛit very closely with the exception of the changes peculiar to the language.

In the Māldivian language the numerals are almost the same as in the Singhalese. The difference, as far as I am aware, is that the progression in that language is by duodecimals instead of decimals. They are *eken*, *deṇ*, *tineṇ*, *hatareṇ*, *pahēṇ*, *hayēṇ*, *hateṇ*, *areṇ*, *nuveṇ*, *dihēṇ*, *ekoḷahēṇ*, *doḷahēṇ*. Here they stop and for thirteen they have *doḷos eken*, which means "twelve + one." This is continued up to "twenty-three" which is *doḷos ekoḷos*, and twenty-four is *passihi*: now *passihi* is evidently the same as the Singhalese පස්සිපි, *paswisi*, which means "twenty-five." They proceed on with *passihi eken*, *passihi deṇ*, &c., and their "thirty-six" is *tindoḷos*, (*i. e.*, three twelves.) Their "forty-eight" is *panas*, which is the Singhalese for "fifty;" their "sixty" is *pasdoḷos*, (*i. e.*, five twelves); "eighty-four" is *hayidoḷos*, (*i. e.*, seven twelves; "ninety six" is *hiya*, which is the same as the Singhalese සිය, *siya*, "hundred." The real "hundred," however, they call *sata*, which is the Pāli form of the Sanskrit शत, *ṣata*, from which the Singhalese සිය, *siya*, is derived through the Prākṛit *sayā*, as we have seen.\*

In the Drāviḍian group the Telugu and the Tamil, I believe, stand foremost. The numerals in these two languages are :—

		Telugu.			Tamil.
1	...	<i>ondu</i>	...	...	<i>onru.</i>
2	...	<i>reṇḍu</i>	...	...	<i>iraṇḍu.</i>
3	...	<i>mādu</i>	...	...	<i>maṇḍu.</i>
4	...	<i>nāṭugu</i>	...	...	<i>nālu.</i>
5	...	<i>aidu</i>	...	...	<i>aimdu.</i>
6	...	<i>āru</i>	...	...	<i>āru.</i>
7	...	<i>ēdu</i>	...	...	<i>ēlu.</i>
8	...	<i>enimidu</i>	...	...	<i>eṭṭu</i>
9	...	<i>tommidi</i>	...	...	<i>ompadu.</i>
10	...	<i>padu</i>	...	...	<i>pattu.</i>
20	...	<i>iruvai</i>	...	...	<i>irupadu.</i>
30	...	<i>muppai</i>	...	...	<i>muppadu.</i>
40	...	<i>nālpata</i>	...	...	<i>nārpadu.</i>

\* NOTE.—"Māldive Numerals"—*Hon. Sec.*

	Telugu.—(contd.)		Tamil.—(contd.)	
50	...	yābai	...	aiṃpadu.
60	...	—	...	—
70	...	—	...	—
80	...	—	...	—
90	...	—	...	—
100	...	nūru	...	nūru.

These, it is obvious, have no relationship to the Sinhalese numerals.

Following the Prākṛit the modern Áryan vernaculars of India have avoided the “nexus” or the combination of two or more consonants without an intervening vowel, which is seen in the Sinhalese too.

The Prākṛit *ch*, is changed in Sinhalese mostly to *ss*, *s*, and sometimes to *th*, *t*, and also to *ḍ*, *d*.

The corruption has gone so far as to change the *ss*, *s*, to *th*, *h*, and sometimes the *h* is dropped.

From the Sanskrit *śayya*, “bed,” Prākṛit *sejjá*, we get Sinhalese *ḥṇḍa*. By reducing the *ss*, *s*, into *th*, *h*, and dropping it altogether, the *jjá*, is reduced to *ḍ*, *da*, and to compensate for the loss of the conjunct consonant, the vowel *ḥṇ*, *e*, is substituted. This is more apparent when we compare the Sinhalese *ḥṇḍa*, with the old Hindí *sajjáyá*—the modern Hindí, Panjábí, and Sindhí being *sej*.

In Prākṛit, which, as Professor Max Müller says, is the basis of all the Áryan vernaculars of India, consonants are dropped in the middle of words ; as *visai* for *vinsati*, twenty. In Sinhalese the hiatus is always avoided by the coalition of the letters or by the insertion of the semivowels *ya*, or *va*, and sometimes *ra* ; *ratana*, “cubit,” Sinhalese *riyana* ; *kathayati*, “he says,” Sinhalese *kiyayi*. We could never have such a combination of letters as the Prākṛit *janavaá*, for the Sanskrit *janapada*, “community :” the Sinhalese word is *danavva*.

These are the main features of the language. Now compare the Sinhalese names for the members of the body with those of the Áryan vernaculars of India,



Skr. कर्ण, *karna*, "ear"; Pr. *kan̐o*, Pāli कण्ण, *kaṇṇa*, Hindi *kāna*, Panjābī *kanna*, Gujarāthī, Marāṭhī, Bengālī and Ōriya, *kāna*, Sindhī *kanu*, Singhalese කර්ණ, *karna*.

Skr. दन्त, *danta*, "tooth"; Pāli दन्त, *danta*; H. *dānta*; so in the rest, except P. *daṇṭa*, S. *daṇḍu*; Singhalese දන්, *data*,

Skr. कर, *kara*, "hand"; Pāli *id.*; Sind. *karu*; H. and the rest *kara*; old Singhalese කර, *kara*.

Skr. जीह्वा, *jihvā*, "tongue"; H. *jībha*; P. G. M. *id.*; S. *jibha*; Singhalese දිව, *diva*.

Skr. बाहु, *bāhu*, "arm"; Pāli *id.*; H. *bānha*; P. S. *id.*; G. *bāṇhi*; M. *id.*; B. and O. *bāha*; old Singhalese බා, *bā*, and බාහු, *bāhu*.

Skr. भ्रू, *bhrū*, "eyebrow"; Pāli හමු, *bhamu*; H. *bhaun*; P. *bhaunha*; S. *bhirun*; O. *bhurū*; G. *bhavun*; M. *bahṇvaṭ* and *bhoṇvaṭ*; Sin. බැම, *bema*.

Skr. चर्म, *charmma*, "skin"; Pāli චම්ම *chamma*; H. *chāma*, *charma*; so in all; Sin. සම, *sama*, and thence හම, *hama*.

Skr. केश, *kéṣa*, "hair"; Pāli කෙස *kesa*; M. *kesālu*; Sin. කෙස්, *kes*, and කෙ, *ke*.

Skr. दाढ़ी, *dādhi*, "beard"; H. *darhū*; Sin. දෙලි, *deḷi*.

Skr. अक्षि, *akshi*, "eye"; Pāli අච්ඡි, *acchi*; H. *ākha*, in poetry *amshi*; P. *akkha*; G. *ākha*; S. *akhi*; Sin. ඇස්, *es*; old Sin. අස්, *ak*.

Skr. पङ्खा, *jaṅghā*, "leg"; Pāli පංඤා, *jaṅghan*, H. *jāṅgha*; G. M. *id.*, P. *jaṅgha*; S. *jaṅgaha*; old Sin. දඟ, *dangā*; modern Sin. කෙටි *kenda*.

Skr. गर्भा, *garbha*, "womb"; Pāli ගබ්බ, *gabbha*; H. *garabha*; P. *id.*, and *gabbha*; M. G. *gābha*; S. *gabhu*, and *garabhu*; Sin. ගැබ, *geba*.

Skr. हस्त, *hasta*, "hand"; Pr. *hattha*; M. *hāti*; B. O. *id.*; Sin. අත, *ata*.

The following rules may be deduced from the above and other peculiarities of the language.

1. That pure Singhalese retains all the Sanskrit vowels except ञ, *ṛi*, ञ्, *lṛi*, ऐ, *ai*, औ, *au*: *ṛi* becomes either අ, *a*, ඉ, *i*, or උ, *u*, or ඉරි, *iri*, sometimes රු, *ru*; as तण, "grass," for

*trina*, ඉදු, *idu*, "straight," for සෘජු, *riju*, ටු, *utu*, "season," for සෘතු *ritu*, රුසි, *rusi*, for සෘෂි, *rishi*.

2. එ, *ai*, becomes ඵ, *e*, as හෙල, *hela*, "mount," for හෙල, *ṣaila*.

3. ඔ, *au*, becomes ඔ, *o*, as සොදුරු, *sonḍuru*, for සොඤ්ඤ, *saundaryya*, "comely."

4. A long vowel is generally shortened as එක්, *ek*, "one," for එක, *ēka*; සොළොස්, *soḷos*, "sixteen," for *sóḍaṣa*; මග, *maga*, "road" for මාර්ග, *mārga*; ඉසුරු, *isuru*, "lord" for ඉෂ්වර, *iṣwara*.

5. The dental sibilant ස, *s*, represents the palatal and the lingual; as විසි, *visi*, "twenty," for විංශති, *viṅṣati*; සැට, *seṭa*, "sixty," for ෂෂ්ටි, *shasṭi*; ස, *sa*, "six" for ෂෂ්, *shash*.

6. Aspirated consonants are reduced to their unaspirated sounds, sometimes with හ, *h*, to compensate for the loss of the aspirate; as බිම, *bima*, "land," for බුමි, *bhūmi*; විදි, *vidi*, "manner," for විධි, *vidhi*; දෙහන, *dehena*, "religious meditation," for ධ්‍යන, *dhyāna*.

7. ච, *cha*, is changed either to ස, *sa*, or ද, *da*, sometimes to ත, *ta*; as සතර, *satara*, "four" for චතුර්, *chatur*; පස්, *pas*, "five" for පච්ඡ, *pañcha*; ගොදුරු, *goduru*, "an object of sense", for ගොචර, *góchara*; තුදස්, *tudus*, "fourteen," for චතුර්දාස, *chaturdāṣa*. The change of ච, *cha*, to ස, *sa*, is not peculiar to the Sinhalese alone: it is a feature of the Bengálí and Maráṭhí too. Mr. Beames says, "In Eastern Bengal, where the pronunciation reaches the utmost limits of corruption, *chha* is regularly sounded as *s*, and in that dialect of Bengal spoken in Assam, not only has the *s* sound driven out the *chha* but also has in many cases still further passed into *h*." So it is in Sinhalese; සඳ, *sāṇḍa*, "moon," from Sanskrit චන්ද්‍ර, *chandra*, is reduced to හඳ, *hāṇḍa*; පච්ඡ, *pañcha*, "five" is පස, *pasa*, and reduced further into පහ, *paha*; දස, *dasa*, "ten" becomes දහ, *daha*. This හ *ha* is sometimes still further reduced in Sinhalese, by dropping it altogether and retaining only its inherent

vowel, *e. g.*, Sanskrit, शय्या, *ṣayyá*, “bed”; Prākṛit, *sejja*; Sinhalese, පිඳ *enda*, the first form of which seems to have been සිඳ, *sēnda*, then හිඳ, *hēnda*, and now පිඳ, *enda*.

8. ජ, *ja*, is often changed to ද, *da*; as ලජ, *laja*, “parched grain,” Sinhalese, ලද, *lada*; කල, *jāla*, “net,” Sinhalese, දල, *dela*.

9. The Sanskrit conjunct consonant ග, *gña*, is changed in Pāli to ඤ, *ña*, which is changed in Sinhalese to න, *n*; as ගුණ, *gñāna* “wisdom,” Pāli, ඤාණ, *ñāna*, Sinhalese, නින, *nēna*, ප්‍රඤ, *pragñā*, “wisdom,” Pāli, පඤ්ඤ, *paññā*, Sinhalese, පින, *pēna*.

10. ඩ, *d*, and ර, *r*, are changed to ල, *l*, in Prākṛit; and Sinhalese adopts it, *e.g.*, සොලස්, *soḷos*, “sixteen,” for શોඩશ, *śoḍaśa*; තෙලස්, *teles*, “thirteen,” for તેરස්, *terasa*; අටලොස්, *aṭalos*, “eighteen,” for අත්ථරස්, *aṭṭhārasa*. Sinhalese also changes ට, *t*, into ල, *l*, as කකිටක, *karkāṭaka*, Sinhalese, කකුටි, *kakulu*, “crab.”

11. Prākṛit (in which is included Pāli) always reduces conjunct consonants of different classes to one class: this is done by eliding one and doubling the other; ධම්, *dharma*, “scriptures,” is written ධම්ම, *dhamma*; අශ්ව, *aśwa*, “horse” is written අස්ස, *assa*; මුද්ග, *mudga*, “kidney beans,” is මුග්ග, *mugga*; පුණ්, *punya*, “merit,” is පුඤ්ඤ, *puñña*, in Prākṛit, and පුඤ්ඤ, *puñña* in Pāli; මත්ස්ය, *matsya*, “fish,” is written මච්ඡ, *machchha*. The Sinhalese still further reduces these to single consonants by eliding one of them; as දම්, *dam*, or දහම්, *daham*, “scriptures”; අස්, *as*, “horse”; මුඳ, *mungu*, “kidney beans”; පින්, *pin*, “merits” මසු, *masu*, “fish.”

12. In Prākṛit, consonants are elided in the middle or end of words, and sometimes in the beginning also; but in Sinhalese the hiatus thus occurring is avoided either by the coalition of the vowel or by the insertion of semi-vowels: thus, ලෝක, *trailōkyā*, “the three worlds,” is in Prākṛit *teloā*, but in Sinhalese we find තිලොව, *tilovā*. Here we have the semi-vowel ව, *v*, inserted between the vowels *o* and *a*. For the Sanskrit *nabhastala*, “sky,” we find in Prākṛit *ṇahaala*, where both the *b* and the nexus *st* are lost. The Sinhalese avoids the

aspirate eliding the first letter of the conjunct consonant, and we get *නුබතල*, *nubatala*. Prākṛit, *naa*, “nine,” Sinhalese, *නව nava*; Prākṛit, *visai*, “twenty,” Sinhalese, *විසි*, *visi*.

13. The Sinhalese sound *අ, e*, comes into play when a long *ආ, á*, or *ඈ, é*, is shortened, or a nexus preceded by *අ, a*, is elided, *e. g.*, *අශ්වය, ásháḍha*, “name of a month (June and July),” *අසල, esala*; *මක්ෂිකා, makshiká*, “fly,” *මැසි, mesi*; *හස්ත, hastin*, “elephant,” *අත්, et*; *ෂෂ්ටි, shashti*, “sixty” *හේත, heṭa*. It is also a substitute for *ච, e*, as *velli*, “creeper” Sinhalese *වැල්, vel*. Though in Bengálí and other vernaculars of India there is no letter corresponding to the Sinhalese *අ, e*, yet Mr. Beames says:—“In some instances in Bengálí the vowel *ච, e*, has a short harsh sound, like that of English *a* in *hat*. Thus *ek*, “one,” sounds *yak* or *ack*.” This is just what the Sinhalese *අ, e*, is: the vowel changes entirely depend upon the preceding or succeeding vowels of a word.

The following examples will shew that a large number of words with slight modifications, is common to all. I work on the materials supplied by Beames.

Skr.\* *karkaṭaka* “crab;” Páli, *kakkaṭa*; S. *kánkiḍo*; H. *kekara*; Siṅ. *kakuḷu*, “sea crab.”

Skr. *karkaṭika*; “cucumber;” Pá. *kakkári*; S. *kakiḍi*; H. *kakaḍi*; O., B. *kakuḍi*; Siṅ. *kekiri*.

Skr. *karbura*, “variegated;” S. *kubiro*; H. *kabará, kábara*; Siṅ. *kabara*.

Skr. *kshaṇa*; “moment;” S. *khina*; H. *khana, khaṇa, chhaṇa*; Siṅ. *keṇa, seṇa*. Here *keṇa* comes by the elision of the lingual *sh*, and *seṇa* by eliding the *k* and dentalizing the lingual *sh*.

Skr. *kshamá*, “pardon;” S. *khimá*; H. *chhamá, khimá*; P. *chhimá*; Siṅ. *kamá, samá*.

Skr. *vanka*, “crooked;” S. *vingu*; H. *bánka, bánká*; Siṅ. *vak*.

\* S. stands for Sindhí; B. Bengálí; H. Hindí; O. Oṛiya; P. Panjábí; M. Máharáṭhi; G. Gajuráṭhi; Siṅ. Sinhalese; Pr. Prākṛit; Pá. Páli; Skr. Sanskrit.

Skr. pushkara, “tank ;” Pá. pokkharani ; B. pukhura ; H. pokkara ; Sin. pokuṇa, pokuru.

Skr. vatsá, “calf ;” Pá. vaccha ; B. báchura ; O. báchhuri ; H. bachharu, bachhaḍá ; Sin. vassá, adjectively, vahu.

Skr. vaṅgana, “brinjal ;” Pá. vátingana ; B. báguna ; H. baigana ; Sin. vaṇ, as in vaṇbatu, which latter word is from bhautá, *solenum melongena*.

Skr. udumbara, “fig tree ;” B. ḍumura ; Sin. dibul.

Skr. mushala, “pestle ;” B. mushula ; Sin. mohola, móla.

Skr. aushadha, “medicine ;” B. ashud ; Sin. osu.

Skr. aṅgulí, “finger ;” H. ungali ; P. ungulí ; Sin. ɛngili.

Skr. chakshu, “eye ;” B. choukha ; chóha ; Sin. (old) sak.

Skr. bindu, “drop ;” H. búnda, bunda ; M., P., G. *id.* ; S. bundó, búnda ; Sin. bindu.

Skr. ikshu, “sugarcane ;” Pá. ikka, uchchhu ; Pr. uchchhu, H. úk ; Sin. uk, (old) ik.

Skr. sayyá, “bed,” Pr. sejjá ; H. sej ; P. S. *id.* ; G., M. sej ; O., H. sajya ; Sin. ɛnda.

Skr. valli, “creeper ;” Pr. velli ; H. bél, béli ; P., S., G., O. beli ; Sin. vɛl.

Skr. badhirá, “deaf ;” P., H. bahirá ; G. béhéro ; Sin. bihirá, bírá.

Skr. samaya, “time ;” H. same ; Sin. same, hama, áma.

Skr. kadali, “plantain ;” H., P. kélá ; M., G., kél ; Sin. kehel, kesɛl.

Skr. vidyut, “lightning ;” H. bijali ; B., M., G., P., O. bijulí ; Sin. viduli, vidili.

Skr. báluka, “sand ;” O. báli ; S. várí ; B. bálí ; M., P., S., H. bálu ; Sin. vɛli.

Skr. paniya, “water ;” Pr. páñiaṇ ; H., B., M., G., P., O., S. paní ; Sin. pɛn.

Skr. alíka, “false ;” Pr. aliaṇ ; H. alíka ; Sin. ali, as in aliboru, literally “a false lie.”

Skr. kachchapa, “tortoise ;” H., P. kchhuá ; S. kachhup ; B. káchhíma ; Sin. (old) kɛsup, (modern) kɛsɛ.

Skr. kuddála, “hoe ;” S. kódari ; G. kódaró ; B. kóḍála ; O. koḍá ; Sin. udalu. Here the *k* is dropped altogether.

Skr. *prishṭa*, "back ;" H., B. *pīṭha* ; O. *piṭhi* ; P. *piṭṭha* ; G. *piṭha* ; Siṇ. *piṭa*.

Skr. *mṛitti*, "earth ;" M. *māṭi* ; B., G., O. *māṭi* ; H. *mitti*, *matṭi*, *māṭi* ; Sin. *meṭi*.

Skr. *pitṛi*, "father ;" Pr. *piá* ; P. *piú* ; S. *piu* ; Sin. *piyá*.

Skr. *matṛi*, "mother ;" Pr. *máá* ; P. *máu* ; S. *máu* ; Siṇ. *mavu*.

Skr. *bhráṭṛi*, "brother ;" Pr. *bháá* ; P. *bháú* ; S. *bháu*, Siṇ. (old) *bé*.

Skr. *mṛita*, "dead ;" Pr. *madó*, *maó*, *muó* ; H. *muá* ; P. *muia* ; S. *muó* ; G. *muvun* ; M. *mele* ; O. *malá* ; Siṇ. *maḷa*.

Skr. *bhakta*, "devotedness ;" H., and the rest, *bhagata* ; Siṇ. *beṭi*.

Skr. *rakta*, "red ;" Pr. *ratta* ; H., and the rest, *ragata*, *rakata* ; Siṇ. *rat*, *ratu*, *reṭi*.

Skr. *dharma*, "religion ;" H., and the rest, *dharama* ; Siṇ. *dam*, *daham*, *daruma*.

Skr. *strī*, "woman ;" S. *tiriyá* ; P. *tirayá* ; O. *tirí*, *vulgo* *tila* ; Siṇ. (old) *itu*, *itiri*, *vulgo*, *istiri*.

Skr. *eraṇḍa*, "castor-oil plant ;" H. *renḍi* ; Siṇ. *eṇḍaru*, *eraṇḍu*.

Skr. *nidrá*, "sleep ;" H. *nínda* ; M. *nída*, *níja* ; P. *ninda* ; S. *ninda* ; Siṇ. *ninda*.

Skr. *cháyá*, "shadow ;" Pr. *cháá* ; H., P. *id.*, *chá* ; S. *chanva*, *chán* ; Siṇ. (old) *séyá*, (modern) *he*, as in *hémalaya*, "shadow of one's self ;" *sevana*, *hevana*, "shadow."

Skr. *sphaṭika*, "chrystal ;" H. *phiṭakarí* ; M. *phaṭakí* ; S. *phitakí* ; O., P., G., B. *phaṭakarí* ; Siṇ. *paḷingu*.

Skr. *swapanan*, "sleeping ;" Pr. *siviṇṇó*, *siviṇó* ; Pá. *supinó*, "dreaming ;" H. *sóná* ; P. *soaná* ; S. *sumhanu* ; G. *suvaṇ* ; B. *soité* ; O. *soibá* ; Siṇ. *hína*, "dream."

It is obvious that the Sinhalese comes from the Prákṛit *siviṇo*, by the elision of the semi-vowel *v*. The coalision of the two similar vowels would make it, *sína* : *s* as has been already remarked changes into *h*, and we get *hína*.

Skr. Pá. *vapanan*, "sowing ;" H. *bóná* ; B. *búana* ; O. *boibá* ; Siṇ. *vapura*.

Skr. śapatha, “oath,” “curse ;” Pr. savaho ; H. soṇha ; P. soḥuṇ ; S. suḥhuṇ ; Siṇ. hava,—the aṅga or stem in havam now obsolete.

Skr. kaparda, “cowrie ;” H. kauḍī ; M., G., P., S., O. kavaḍī ; Siṇ. kavaḍi.

Skr. tāpa, “heat ;” H., and the rest, táva, táu ; Siṇ. tava, the stem in the verb tavam.

Skr. nārikēla, “cocoanut ;” Pr. nāri éló ; H. nāriyala ; M. nāraḷa ; P. narélu, naléru ; S. narele ; G. nāiru ; Siṇ. (old) neralu.

Skr. nagara, “city ;” Pr. naarí, nayarí ; H. naira ; G. nayarí ; Siṇ. nuvara.

Skr. sugandha, “fragrant ;” Pr. suaṇḍha ; H., P. saundhá ; Siṇ. suvanda.

Skr. súchi, “needle ;” Pr., H., P. súi ; S., M., G. sóya ; O., B. sócá ; Siṇ. idi. Here the *S ch* has changed into *ṣ d*, and by the influence of the vowel *ṇ i*, *Ṣ u*, has changed into *ṇ i*, and *ṣ s*, has become *ṣ h*, and dropped. See Beames Vol. 1. § 34.

Skr. rájá, “king ;” Pr. ráá ; H. ráu ; in the rest, rao ; Siṇ. rada, raja

Skr. khádanaṇ, “eating ;” Pr. kháaṇam ; H. kháná ; P. káhná ; S. kháinu ; M. kháneṇ ; G. khávun ; O. kháiba ; B. kháité ; Siṇ. kana.

Skr. pipása “thirsty ;” H., and the rest, piyásá ; Siṇ. (old) pavas, (modern) pipása, *vulgo* tibaha. Here is an instance of *p* changing to *t* : the only other instance I have noticed is where pippalī, “long pepper,” becomes tippli ; but the Sinhalese word tippli comes from the Tamil, as most of the names of medicinal drugs coming from the southern coast of India. The old Sinhalese word found in books is vagapul.

Skr. prāpaṇa, “getting ;” H. páuá, páuná ; P. páuná ; S. páinu ; G. pánavun ; M. pávanéṇ ; B. páité ; O. páibá ; Siṇ. pamuṇa ; “arriving.” Here the *p* has as usual changed into *v*, and thence to *m*, as in nava, “nine ; Siṇ. nama.”

Skr. kapóta ; H. kapót ; Siṇ. kobeyiyá ; “wild dove.”

Skr. kumbhakára, “potter ;” H. kumbár; Siṇ. kubal.

Skr. súkara, “pig ;” H. súar; Siṇ. (old) húrá, (modern) úrá.

Skr. karpása, “cotton ;” S. kapáha, kapaha; P. kapáh; O. kapá; Siṇ. kapu

Skr. mukha, “face ;” Pr., H. muṇha; P. muṇuṇ, muṇhu; S. muṇhuṇ Siṇ. muva, múna.

Skr. śithila, “loose ;” Pr. siḍhilo; H., M., G., ḍhíla; P. ḍhillá; S. ḍhiro; B., O., ḍhilá; Siṇ. ihil, lihil, lila.

These may be extended to any length.

It was my intention to add to this a few remarks on the pronouns, the case endings, verbs and their terminations and the particles which are called the “sinews and ligaments” of language, but this paper has extended to a greater length than was originally intended, and I reserve my remarks on them for another paper.

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## NOTE.\*

*Máldive Numerals.*

“ The inconvenient duodecimal mode of numeration was formerly exclusively used by the Máldivians—the numerals from 1 to 12 being almost identical with the Singhalese ; but, though still in vogue here and there, it is gradually dying out, and rarely employed in business calculations. Beyond 10 a modified form of the Hindústání decimal numeration is that in common use. Some confusion, however, arises from the co-existence of the two systems ; thus, *fanás* or *fansás* may be either 48 or 50 ; *hiya* or *satéka*, 96 or 100.” (“ The Máldive Islands,” Sessional Papers, Ceylon, 1881, p. 121.)

Mr. Albert Gray in giving the Máldive numerals recorded by Pyrard with their Singhalese equivalents, adds in a foot note :—“ After this number Pyrard has the following :—‘ Note that they have the numbers up to twelve (as we have them up to ten) : then they go on by twelves, and their hundred is 96, or eight times 12.’ It will be seen by the numbers which follow that those only which are correct according to Singhalese enumeration are compounds of *dolos*, viz., *tin dolos*, *passedolos*, and *addolos*. They are simply, ‘ three dozen’, ‘ five dozen,’ and ‘ seven dozen.’ On the other hand, those which are not compounds of *dolos* are altered values of the ordinary Singhalese decimal numbers. Yet it is strange that Pyrard could make mistakes with numbers so low as ‘ twenty-four’ and ‘ forty-eight’ which by analogy ought to be *dedolos* and *háradolos*..... It seems that the Maldivians count much by dozens ; indeed, Christopher (Trans. Bom. Geog. Soc. 1836-8, p. 69) says,

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\* Mr. Rajasingha's paragraph (p. 241) on Máldive numerals justifies this note.—B. Hon. Sec.

‘they reckon by twelves, as we do by tens ;’ but they have not abandoned altogether the decimal system. If, however, *passee* and *panas* really stand for ‘twenty-four’ and ‘forty-eight,’ it will be interesting to know the Maldivian for ‘twenty’ and ‘fifty.’” (Journ. R. A. S., Vol. viii. n. s. 1878, pp. 193-4.)

Mr. Ramasinha has rightly shown, from a comparison with the Sinhalese, the true meaning and value of the forms, *fassehi*, *fanas*, and *hiya* ; but it is difficult to account for the anomaly of their employment in a duo-decimal system, otherwise than as relics of an original decimal numeration, which, from unknown causes, was temporarily abandoned, only to reassert itself, though under a different garb more closely resembling other Áryan vernaculars than Sinhalese.

The following table of Maldivian numerals exhibits both systems :—

## MÁLDIVE NUMERALS.

Duo-decimal.		Decimal.†	
1	eke'	}	<i>id.</i>
2	de'		
3	tine'		
4	hatare'		
5	fahe'		
6	haye'		
7	hate'		
8	arhe'		
9	nuvaye'		
10	dihaye'		
11	ekolohe'		egára
12	dolohe'		bára
13	dolos-eke'		téra
14	}		sauda
15			fanara
16			sóla
17			satára
18			arhára
19			ona-vihi
20			vibi
21			eká-
22			bá-
23			té-
24	fassehi		sau-
25	fassehi-eke'		fansa-
26	}		sab-bís
27			hatá-
28			árhá-
29			ona-tirís
30			tirís
31			et-
32			bat-
33			tet-
34			sau-
35			fansa-
36	tin-dolos		sa-
37	tin-dolos-eke'		satu-
38	}		arbu-
39			ona-sális
40			sális
41			ek-ális
42			ba-
43			te-
44			saura-
45			fansa-
46			sa-
47			bat-ális

† Transcribed from a list given in a Máldive *tartib*, or commentary on the *kurán*.—B. *Hon. Sec.*

Duo-decimal.		Decimal.	
48	fanás	arb-ális	
49	fanás-éke'	ona-fansás	
50	fanás-dé'	fansás	
51	} &c.,	eká-	} vanna
52		bá-	
53		té-	
54		saura-	
55		fansa-	
56		sa-	
57		satu-	
58		arhu-	
59		ona-hatti	
60		hatti	
61	fas-dolos	eká-hatti	
62	fas-dolos-éke'		
63	} &c.,		} &c.,
64			
65			
66			
67			
68			
69		ona-hattiri	
70		hattiri	
71		ekáhattiri	
72	fáhití		
73	fáhití-éke'		
74	} &c.,		} &c.,
75			
76			
77			
78			
79		ona-áhi	
80		áhi	
81		ek-áhi	
82		ba-	
83		té-	
84	had-dolos	saura-	} yáhi
85	had-dolos-éke'	fansa-	
86	} &c.,	sa-	
87		sat-áhi	
88		arh-áhi	
89		o-navai	
90		navai	
91		eká-	
92		bayá-	
93		teyá-	
94		saurayá-	} navai
95		fansayá-	
96	hiya	sayá-	
97		satá-	
98		arhá-	
99		ona-satta	
100		satéka	

p. 1904. A.

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EXTRA No.

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*EDITED BY THE HONORARY SECRETARY.*

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“The design of the Society is to institute and promote enquiries into the History, Religion, Literature, Arts, and Social Condition of the present and former Inhabitants of the Island, with its Geology, Mineralogy, its Climate and Meteorology, its Botany and Zoology.”



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## NOTE.

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Italics in the text denote the spelling of the French editors : in parentheses, their supplementary explanations. Words and paragraphs within brackets are additions by the translator ; as also all foot-notes, except those followed by the initial “*B*,” for the insertion of which the Honorary Secretary is responsible.

## *Errata.*

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Page 2,	8 lines from bottom,	for 'Burekhart' read 'Burckhardt.'
„ 7,	note †	<i>delete 'valu.'</i>
„ 10,	„ †	<i>for 'Hadégiri' read 'Hadégiri.'</i>
„ „ „	‡	<i>for 'kaptaje' read 'kaptage.'</i>
„ 12,	„ †	<i>for 'fattaru' read 'faṭṭaru.'</i>
„ 16,	„ *	<i>for 'Yúsuf' read 'Yúsuf.'</i>
„ „ „	„	<i>for 'Tabrij' read 'Tabríz.'</i>
„ 19,	„ ‡	<i>for 'Mafâ' read 'Mâfâ.'</i>
„ „ „	„	<i>for 'Maâhv' read 'Mahâv.'</i>
„ 49,	„ *	<i>for 'kudella' read 'kúḍellâ.'</i>
„ 55,	„	<i>for 'Atkalandjeh' read 'Atkalendjeh.'</i>
„ „ „	„ *	<i>for 'Dinéwan' read 'Dînéwer.'</i>

# ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

## CEYLON BRANCH.

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IBN BATUTA

IN

THE MALDIVES AND CEYLON.

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[*Translated from the French of M. M. Defrémery and Sanguinetti, by ALBERT GRAY, M.R.A.S., late of the Ceylon Civil Service.*]

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### INTRODUCTION.

THE wonderful travels of Ibn Batúta are a record alike of the commercial activity of the Arabs, and of the far-reaching power of the Bagdad caliphate, whose influence long survived its overthrow. From the swift rise of the Muhammadan power in the seventh century down to the arrival of Vasco di Gama at Calicut in 1498, the trade of Europe with the East was in the hands of the Arabs. The carrying to Europe was done by their ships, but in the Indian seas a vast coast trade was developed by all the nations of the Indian sea-board—Persians, the races of India, Ceylon, the Eastern Islands and China. After the rounding of the Cape followed in succession the restrictive monopolies of the Portuguese, Dutch, and English, and the Eastern nations have never regained the great and free international commerce of the Arab days.

From the story of Ibn Batúta, one comes to understand how it was possible for a native of Tangiers in the fourteenth century to travel, with but little difficulty, for twenty-four years over every country between Morocco and China. The Muhammadan faith had been spread over a great part of India, and had established a footing in China: Arab merchants were everywhere: and ships were never long in demand for voyages from any one port to any other.

Ibn Batúta was born at Tangiers in 1304, and died at Fez 1377-8. The following summary of his travels of twenty-four years (1325 to 1349) is given by Dr. Birdwood of the India Office. From Tangiers he travelled across Africa to Alexandria, and in Palestine, Syria, and Arabia: down the east coast of Africa to Quilon: across the Indian Ocean to Muscat, Ormuz, Kish, Bahrein and El Catif: through Central Arabia to Mecca and Jeddah: and again in Egypt and Asia Minor, and across the Black Sea to Caffa or Theodosia, and by Azov or Tana 'on past the hills of the Russians' to Bolgar on the Volga—but not daring to penetrate further northwards into 'the land of Darkness.' Returning south to Haj-Tarkhan (Astrakhan) he proceeded in the suite of the wife of the Khan of Kipchak, the daughter of the Greek Emperor Andronicus, westward to Soldaia and Constantiniah (Constantinople), whence returning to Bolgar he travelled on eastward to Bokhara, and through Khorassan to Cabul, Multan, and Delhi where he remained eight years (1334-42). Being sent on an embassy to China he embarked at Kin-baiat (Cambay), and after many adventures at Calicut (where he was honorably received by the 'Samari' or Zamorin) and Hunawar (Onore), and in the Máldive Islands (beginning of 1343—August, 1344) and Ceylón and Bengal, he at last took his passage toward China in a junk bound for Java, as he calls it, but in fact Sumatra. Returning from China, he sailed direct from the coast of Malabar to Muscat and Ormuz: and travelling by Shiraz, Bagdad, Jerusalem, Damascus and for the fourth time to Mecca, Egypt, Tunis, at last reached Fez again, after an absence of half his life-time. Subsequently he spent six years in Spain and Central Africa, where he was the guest of the brother of a countryman of his own from Ceutra, whose guest he had been in China. "What an enormous distance lay between these two!" he exclaims.

The first detailed account of his book was published in Europe only in 1808. Moura in 1845 commenced a translation in Portuguese of a copy obtained at Fez at the end of last century. The abridgment translated by Lee was brought from the east by Burckhart. It was not till the French conquest of Algeria that the best and completest texts were obtained. Five are in the Imperial Library at Paris, only two of which are perfect. From these M. M. Defrémery and Sanguinetti made their translation for the Société Asiatique: and it is from their version that the present account of the Máldives and Ceylon visit has been extracted. His description of the Máldives is the most interesting and complete in existence, excepting only that of Pyrard de Laval.

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# IBN BATÚTA

## IN

### THE MÁLDIVES AND CEYLON.\*

I RESOLVED to go to the *Dhíbat Almahal* (the *Máldives*) of which I had heard much. Ten days after we had embarked at Calicut we arrived at the *Dhíbat Almahal* islands. *Dhíbat* is pronounced as the feminine of *Dhíb* (*Arabic* for “wolf”: it is really an alteration of the *Sanskrit* *douîpa*, “island”). These islands are among the wonders of the world: they number about 2,000.† A hundred or less of these islands lie together in a circle in the form of a ring: the group has an entrance as to a harbour, and ships get through by that alone. When a ship arrives near one of these islands it must of necessity have a pilot from among its natives, so that it may reach the other islands under his guidance. They are so close to each other that the tops of the palms which grow on one seem to belong to its neighbour.‡ If the vessel misses its way it cannot reach the islands, and is driven by the wind to *Mu’bar* (coast of *Coromandel*) or towards Ceylon.

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\* *Voyages d’Ibn Batoutah*, par C. Defrémery et Le Dr. B. R. Sanguinetti, Tome IV., 110—185, 191—2, 205—6, 207—10. Paris, 1879.

† See Gray, J. R. A. S., 1878, Vol. X. N. S., pp. 196—7, notes 2, 3; and “The Máldive Islands” (Ceylon Sessional Papers, 1881), pp. 3, 4, 5, Notes (1) (6)—B.

‡ So too more recent travellers:—“The Malabares say that heretofore they were joyn’d to the Continent, and were separated by the sea, which in some places hath left such narrow divisions that an active man might leap from one side to the other” (*Mandelso’s Travels into the Indies*, 1639. Lib. II. 116. London, 1662). “But that which makes them so numerous is the multitude of canals that divide them; which are so narrow that the sprit-sails of the ships strike the leaves of the trees which are planted on both sides. And in some places a nimble man may leap into an island from the top of a bough that grows in another.”—(*Collection of Voyages of the Dutch East-India Company*, p. 131. London, 1703)—B.

All the inhabitants of these islands are Musalmáns, pious and honest people. They are divided into regions or zones, each of which is ruled by a governor called *Cordoûiy*. Among these zones the following are distinguished: (1) the zone of *Pâlipour*; (2) *Cannaloûs*; (3) *Mahal*, the province after which all the islands are called, and at which their sovereigns reside; (4) *Têlâdîb*; (5) *Carâïdoû*; (6) *Teïm*; (7) *Télédomméty*; (8) *Hélédomméty*, the name differing from the preceding only by having its first letter an *h*: (9) *Béreïdoû*; (10) *Candacal*; (11) *Moloûc*; (12) *Souweïd*. The last is the most distant of all.\* All the Mál-dive islands are destitute of grain, except that in the province

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\* The French editors identify these names with those given by Pyrard as follows:—"Pâlipour"—Padypolo': *Mahal*—Malé': *Carâïdoû*—'Caridou': *Télédomméty*—'Tilla dou matis': *Hélédomméty*—'Milla doue madoue': *Béreïdoû*—'Poulisdots': *Moloûc*—'Molucque': *Souweïd*—'Souadou.' The *Cannaloûs* of Ibn Batûta, they add, is perhaps the 'Collomadous' of Pyrard, or, as Horsburgh writes it, 'Colomandous.

["The majority of the above 'are easily recognisable,' but five (viz., *Cannaloûs*, *Têlâdîb*, *Teïm*, *Hélédomméty*, and *Candacal*) present more difficulty,—some, indeed, being shaped, *more Arabico*, out of all but unsatisfactory conjectural recognition.

"As regards *Hélédomméty*, the French translators would appear to be at fault. It may perhaps with more reason be taken as equivalent to *Hela-du(m)-matî* (S. *hela*, 'white,' or even *sela*, = Jav. *sela*, 'rock' + *dûva*, 'island' + *matu-pîta*, 'above') passing by contraction into *Had-dummati*. *Adûdû* may similarly be a contracted form of *Hela-dû* or *Hulu-dû*—the name of one of the islands in that Atol.

"If it be open to question the orthography of the MS. and, supposing an error of the copyist, read *Nêlâdîb* for *Têlâdîb*—*t* and *n* are not unlike in Arabic—it can be at once fitted to *Nilandu* Atol. Even accepting the received form as correct, the identification may possibly be not considered too far-fetched. Cf. *Tojaree* = ? *Nausâri*; *Accanee* and *Kaluftee* islands' (Lakkadive group) = *Aucutta*, *Kalpeni*. Adm. Chart. (Col. Yule in *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. III., pp. 212-4 on "Names in the *Tohfât-al Majâhidîn*.")......

"To attempt to twist the rest into probable coincidence with the modern names of the remaining Atols seems hopeless. But the identification of *Carâïdoû* with *Caridou* (*Kaharidû*)—if accepted—suggests a likely clue to their origin. Admitting that this island—now-a-days of comparative insignificance

of *Souweïd* there is a cereal like the *anly* (*a kind of millet*) which is brought thence to *Mahal*.\* The food of the natives consists of a fish like the *tyroûn*, which they call *koulb almâs*. Its flesh is red: it has no grease, but its smell resembles that of mutton. When caught at the fishing, each fish is cut up into four pieces, and then slightly cooked: it is then placed in baskets of coco leaves and suspended in smoke. It is eaten when perfectly dry. From this country it is exported to India, China and Yaman. It is called *koulb almâs*† (cobolly masse, i.e., “black fish” according to *Pyrard, Part 1, p. 210, 214.*)

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—was of sufficient importance in the 14th century to be classed as a ‘province’, it is not improbable that other islands would have been taken as representative of whole groups or Atols.

“*Têlâdîb*, if not *Nilandû*, might then be *Tođđû*, on the analogy of *Had-dummati* from *Hêlédomméty*: *Cannaloûs*—*Kinałos*, ‘Kenoorus,’ Admiralty Chart, (Málosmađulu Atol): *Candacal*—*Kedikolu*, ‘Kaindecolu,’ Admiralty Chart, (Miladummađulu Atol. *Cannaloûs* and *Teim* should lie North of Málê. Ibn Batúta, crossing from the Malabar coast, landed first at the former, ‘an island fair to behold, where there are many mosques,’ and touched later at *Teim* ‘after four days’ cruise’ when bound for *Mahal* (Málê).”—(*The Máldive Islands*, p. 18, Note (1), Ceylon Sessional Papers, 1881.)

Colonel Yule and Mr. Gray identify *Teim* with *Utímu* (Admiralty Chart, *Oteim*) near north end of Tiladummati Atol. “*Cannalous*, *Candecal* and *Otimo* appear in the oldest European maps”—*B.*]

\* Either the fine grain known to the Sîghalese as (i.) *tana hál* (*Setaria Italica*), *M. urá* (Pyrard, *oura*), or (ii.) *menéri* (*Panicum miliaceum*), *M. kudi-bai*—both of which are found on the Southern Atols. Some *nacheri* or *kurak-kan* (*Cynosurus corocanus*), *M. bimbi* (Pyrard, *bimby*), is grown on the Northern Atols—*B.*

† *Koulb almâs*:—Pyrard has *cobolly masse* (Pyrard, third edition, 1619, p. 210), and *combolly masse* (p. 214), and says the words mean “black fish.” See also Pridham ‘Ceylon’, p. 605. The Sîghalese call it *umbalakada*. [See “Note on Fish-curing at the Máldives” (Ind. Ant., July, 1882, Vol. XI., pp. 196–8):—“The real ‘Máldive fish’ (*M. kaľubîli mas*, vulgarly *komboli mas*), *S. umbala kada*) of the Ceylon and Indian markets are chiefly *bonito* (*S. balayá*)—*Scomber Pelamis*, *Linn.*” *Kaľubîli*=*kaľu*, ‘black’: *bîli* (*S. balayá*), ‘bonito.’—*B.*]

## THE TREES OF THE MÁLDIVES.

Most of the trees on these islands are coconuts: they furnish the food of the inhabitants along with the fish, of which mention has been made. The nature of the coconut is marvellous. One of these palms produces each year twelve crops, one a month. Some are small, others large: many are dry [yellow], the rest are green and remain always so. From the fruit is obtained milk, oil, and honey, as we have said in the first part of this book. With the honey is made pastry, which they eat with the dried coconut. All the food made from the coconut, and the fish eaten at the same time effect an extraordinary and unequalled vigor in manhood. \* \* \* \*

Among the remarkable trees of these islands are the *tchou-moûn* (*Eugenia Jambu*) the lemon, the lime and the colocasia. From the root of the last named, the natives prepare a flour with which they make a kind of vermicelli, and this they cook in coco milk; it is one of the most agreeable dishes in the world. I had a great taste for it and ate it often.\*

## OF THE INHABITANTS OF THESE ISLANDS AND SOME OF THEIR CUSTOMS: DESCRIPTION OF THEIR DWELLINGS.

The inhabitants of the Máldive islands are honest and pious people, sincere in good faith and of a strong will: they eat only what is lawful, and their prayers are granted. When one of them meets another, he says "God is my lord: Muhammad is my prophet: I am a poor ignorant being." In body they are weak and have no aptitude for combat or for war, and their arms

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\* "The island [Málé] produces ..... a bulb in shape and appearance much resembling an ordinary potatoe, but having a pungent flavor. This the natives grate down, and steep in water for some time to deprive it of the unpleasant taste, and dry it afterwards, when it looks very much like flour, and is very palatable" (Christopher and Young in Trans. Bombay, Geographical Society, 1836-38, p. 80). Without doubt the yam called by Máldivians *hittala* (Pyrard, *itelpoul*, "an edible root which grows in abundance, round and large as the two fists") and probably identical with the *hiritala* (*Dioscorea oppositifolia*) of the Siphalese—B.



are prayers. One day in this country, I ordered the right hand of a robber to be cut off; upon which many of the natives in the hall of audience fainted away. The Indian pirates do not attack them, and cause them no alarm, for they have found that whoever takes anything of theirs is struck with a sudden calamity. When a hostile fleet comes to their shores, they seize what strangers they find, but do no harm to the natives. If an idolater appropriates anything, if it be but a lime, the chief of the idolaters punishes him and beats him severely, so much does he fear the results of such an action. Were it otherwise, certainly these people would be a most contemptible foe in the eyes of their enemies, because of the weakness of their bodies. In each of their islands there are fine mosques, and most of their buildings are of wood.

The islanders are good people: they abstain from what is foul, and most of them bathe twice a day, and properly too, on account of the extreme heat of the climate and the abundance of perspiration. They use a large quantity of scented oils, such as sandal-wood oil, &c., and they anoint themselves with musk from *Makdachaou*.<sup>\*</sup> It is one of their customs, when they have said the morning prayer, for every woman to go to meet her husband or son with the collyrium box, rose-water and musk oil. He smears his eye-lashes with collyrium, and rubs himself with rose-water and musk oil, and so polishes the skin and removes from his face all trace of fatigue.

The clothing of these people consists of cloths. They wrap one round their loins in place of drawers, while on their backs they wear the stuffs called *alouilyân* † which resemble the *ihrâm*

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<sup>\*</sup> *Makdachaou* :—? Madagascar. [Rather *Magadoxo* on the Zanzibár coast, which Ibn Batúta had visited (Tome II., 181.) “After leaving Zaila we sailed on the sea for fifteen days, and arrived at *Makdachaou* an extremely large town.”—See Yule's *Marco Polo*. Vol. II., p. 347—*B*.]

† *Alouilyân*—*ouilyân* (p. 120) :—A probable corruption of *M. fēliya*, (cf. *S. valu, pili*, ‘clothes’) the term for the *kambaya* (S) or waist cloth worn by Máldivian women commonly and by soldiers on special occasions. The Máldive equivalent for the *ihrâm* is known as *digu libás*—*B*.

(*clothes worn by the Musalmáns during the pilgrimage*). Some wear the turban, others supply its place with a little kerchief. When any one meets the *Kâdhi* or the preacher, he takes his garment off his shoulders, and uncovers his back, and so accompanies the functionary till he arrives at his place of abode. Another of their customs is this—when one of them marries, and goes to the house of his wife, she spreads cotton cloths from the house door to that of the (*nuptial*) chamber: on these cloths she places handfuls of cowries on the right and left of the path he has to follow, while she herself stands awaiting him at the door of the apartment. On his arrival she throws over his feet a cloth which his attendants take up. If it is the wife\* who goes to the husband's house, that house is hung with cloths, and cowries are placed thereon: and the woman on her arrival throws the cloth over his feet. And this is also the custom of the islanders when they salute the sovereign, they must without fail be provided with a piece of cloth to cast down at the moment, as we shall hereafter describe.

Their buildings are of wood† and they take care to raise the floor of their houses some height above the ground, by way of precaution against damp, for the soil of their islands is damp. This is the method they adopt: they cut the stones, each of which is of two or three cubits long, and place them in piles then they lay across these beams of the coco-tree, and afterwards raise the walls with boards. In this work they show marvellous skill. In the vestibule of the house they construct an apartment which they call *mâlem*,‡ and there the master of the house

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\* It appears from this passage that the two kinds of Siphalese marriage, *bîna* and *dîga*, were in vogue at the Máldives. [Both forms are said to be recognised still—B.]

† Even at the present day there is but *one* stone or brick built private house at Málé (Sultan's Island)—B.

‡ *Mâlem*. "A partition near the middle divides the house into two rooms, one of which is private, and the other open to all visitors." (Trans. Bombay Geographical Society, 1836-8, p. 59.) The public room is called *bêru-gé* and the private or women's apartment *eteri-gé*, or in the Southern Atols *mával-gé*—B.

sits with his friends. This room has two doors, one opening on the vestibule by which strangers are introduced, the other on the side of the house by which the owner enters. Near the room in question is a jar full of water [? and] a bowl called *ouélendj*\* made of the coconut shell. It has a handle of [only] two cubits, wherewith to draw the water from the wells, by reason of their little depth.

All the inhabitants of the Máldives, be they nobles or the common folk, keep their feet bare. The streets are swept and well kept: they are shaded by trees, and the passenger walks as it were in an orchard. Albeit every person who enters a house is obliged to wash his feet with water from the jar placed near the *málem*, and rub them with a coarse fabric of *líf*† (*stipulæ* which envelope the base of the stalks of the date-palm leaves) placed there: after which he enters the house. Every person entering a mosque does the same. It is a custom of the natives when a vessel arrives for the *canâdir* (in the singular *cundurah*) ‡ i.e., the little boats to go out to meet it, manned by the people of the island and bearing some betel and *caranbah* § that is to say, green coconuts. Each presents some of these to whom he will of those on board the ship, and then becomes his host carrying to his own house the goods belonging to him, as if he were one of his near relations. Any one of the new-comers who wishes to marry, is at liberty to do so. When the time comes for his departure, he repudiates his wife, for the people of the Máldives do not leave their country. As for a man who does not marry,

\* *Ouélandj* :—These cocoanut bowls with long handles (M. *dáni*, but cf. : S. *valanda* “chatty”) are regularly used by the Islanders for drawing water. The ordinary cocoanut ladle or spoon they call *uduli*.—B.

† *Líf* :—Pers.—B.

‡ *Canâdir*, *cundurah* :—The old Portuguese historians speak of Máldive “*gundras*,” and the term is still commonly applied in Ceylon to these Islanders, (e. g., S. *Gundara-karayó*) and their boats (M. *dóni*, *ođi*).—See too C. A. S. Jour. No. 24, p. 135, 1881.—B.

§ *Caranbah* : = S. *kurumba* [M. *kuruba*.—B.]

the woman of the house in which he is lodged prepares his food, serves it, and supplies him with provisions for his journey when he goes. In return she is contented to receive from him a very small present. The revenue of the treasury, which is called *bender*\* (*custom-house*) consists in the right of buying a certain portion of all cargo on board ship, at a fixed price, whether the commodity be worth just that or more : this is called the *bender* law. The *bender* has in each island a house of wood called *bédjensâr* where the governor, the *cordouéry*, (*above it is written cordoûiy*)† collects all such goods : he sells or barter them. The natives buy with chickens any pottery which may be brought : a pot fetches five or six chickens.

Ships export from the islands the fish of which I have spoken, coconuts, fabrics, the *ouliyân* and turbans : these last are of cotton. They export also vessels of copper, which are very common there, cowries‡ and *kanbar*§, such is the name of the

\* *Bender*:—See Pyrard, p. 231, "*bandery*": cf. Sin. *bandhâra*. The system of raising revenue here described was still in force in Pyrard's day (Pyrard, chap. xvii.), and seems to be identical in principle with the 'culture system,' employed by the Dutch in Java, where it is supposed to have been invented by one of the Dutch governors subsequent to the English occupation. [Each Atol has its own storehouse (*vâru-gé*) into which the revenues of the Sultan are received, and whence they are transferred from time to time to the Treasury (*bođu badéri-ge*, cf : S. *bhândágárika*) at Málé.—B.]

† *Cordouéry, cordoûiy* :—"The Atol-wari [*Atolu-veri* or *Vâru-veri* ; Pyrard '*varuery*' ] is a governor or chief of a division of islands called an Atol ..... It is his duty to collect the revenue of the Atol, and to transmit it to the Hindeggerie [*Hadégiri*]..... The Rarhu-wari [*Rarhu-veri*] or headman of an island, stands in the same relation to the Atol-wari, as the latter does to the Hindeggerie, in respect to the revenue." (*Trans. Bombay Geo. Soc.*, 1836-8, p. 72).—B.

‡ *Cowries* :—"Ibn Batúta calls them *wada*' [Ar.], and the Two Muhammaddans of the 9th century *kaptaje* : Pyrard, *bolly* or *bolli* : Christopher [correctly] *boli*, cf : S. *bella*.

§ *Kanbar* :—Ar. Pyrard has *cairo* (= T. *kayiru*, Gray.) The proper Máldivé term *rónu* = S. *réna*. It is hard to believe that "vessels of copper" ever formed one of the genuine exports from the Máldives. A few old copper pots are occasionally sent over to Ceylon for repair.—B.

fibre which envelopes the coconut. The natives make it undergo a preparation in pits dug near the shore : then they beat it with picks, after which the women work it into rope. They make of it cord for joining the boards of their ships, and such cordage is exported to China, India and Yemen. *Kanbar* rope is worth more than hemp. With this cord the (*boards of*) ships are joined in India and Yemen, for the Indian sea is full of rocks, and if a ship joined with iron bolts strikes a rock, it is broken up : but when it is fastened with this cord it has elasticity, and does not break.

The money of the islanders consist of cowries. This is the name of a creature (*a mollusc*), collected in the sea and placed in pits dug out on the beach. Its flesh decays and there remains only the white shell. A hundred of these shells is called *syâh*, and 700, *fâl* ; 12,000 are called *cotta*, and 100,000 *bostoû*. Bargains are struck through the medium of these cowries, at the rate of four *bostoû* to a *dînâr* of gold. Often they are of less value, such as twelve *bostoû* to a *dînâr*.\* The islanders sell them to the people of Bengal for rice, for they too use them for money. They are sold in the same way to the people of Yemen, who use them for ballast in their ships in place of sand. These cowries serve also as a medium of exchange with the negroes in their native country. I have seen them sold, at *Mály* and at *Djoudjou*, at the rate of 1,150 to a *dînâr* of gold.†

### THE WOMEN OF THE MÁLDIVES.

The women of these islands do not cover the head : the sovereign herself does not so. They comb their hair and tie it

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\* *Syâh* = Sin. *siya*. Ibn Batúta says *bostoû* = 1 *dînâr* of gold [= about 10 shillings, Lane], and Pyrard says 12,000 = 1 *larin* = 8 *sols*. [Cowries are usually sold in the Islands by the *hiya* = 100, the *falé* = 800 to 1,000, and the *kotté* = 12,000 (*bára-fá*.) A *kotté* is not now worth more than Rs. 1 at *Málé*.—B.]

† *Mály* ; *Djoudjou* :—Two places in the Soudán, afterwards visited by the traveller.

up on one side [of the head.] Most of them wear only a cloth, covering them from the navel to the ground : the rest of the body remains uncovered. In this costume they promenaded the bazárs and elsewhere. While I was invested with the dignity of Kází in these islands, I made efforts to put an end to this custom, and to compel the women to clothe themselves : but I could not succeed. No woman was admitted to my presence in the trial of a case, unless she had her whole body covered : but, saving that, I had no power over the usage.\* Some women wear, besides the cloth, chemises with short and full sleeves. I had some young female slaves whose dress was the same as that of the women of Delhi. They covered the head: but that disfigured rather than embellished their appearance, as they were not used to it.

The ornaments of the Máldive women consist of bracelets : each has a certain number on both arms, indeed, so that the whole of the arm from the wrist to the elbow is covered. These trinkets are of silver : only the wives of the Sultan and his nearest relatives wear bracelets of gold. The Máldive women have also *khalkhâl* (*anklets*) called by them *bâil*, and collars of gold round the neck, called *besdered*.† One of their curious customs is to engage themselves as house servants, in consideration of a fixed sum, which does not exceed five pieces of gold. Their board is at the expense of those who hire them. They do not regard this as a disgrace, and most of the daughters of the inhabitants do it. You will find in the house of a rich man ten or twenty of them. The cost of all dishes broken by one of these maids is charged against her. When she wishes to go from one house to another, the masters of the latter give her the amount of her debt, this she remits to the people of the house she is

\* Pyrard, 3rd ed., pp. 82, 124, says that all women in his time carefully kept the breasts covered. [A more modern innovation is the adoption by the women on most Atols of a head kerchief.—B.]

† (i) *Khalkhâl*, Ar. (ii) *bâil*, cf: M. *fá* 'leg,' *fiyavaŋu* 'foot,' *takaholi* 'anklet'; (iii) *besdered* = M. *fattaru* 'necklace'.—B.]

leaving, and her new masters become her creditors.\* The principal occupation of these hired women is to rope the *kanbar* (*vide supra*.)

It is easy to get married in these islands, owing to the smallness of the dowry, as well as by reason of the agreeable society of the women. Most of the men say nothing about a nuptial gift, contenting themselves with declaring their profession of the Musalmán faith, and a nuptial gift in conformity to the law is given. When ships arrive, those on board take wives, and repudiate them on their departure : it is a kind of temporary marriage. The Máldive women never leave their country. I have never seen in the world women whose society is more agreeable. Among the islanders, the wife entrusts to no one the care of her husband's service : she it is who brings him his food, takes away when he has eaten, washes his hands, presents the water for his ablutions, and covers his feet when he wills to go asleep. It is one of their customs that the wife never eats with her husband, and that he does not know what his wife eats. I married in that country many wives : some ate with me at my request : others did not, and I could not succeed in seeing them take their food, and no ruse to get a sight was of any avail.

THE STORY OF THE MOTIVE FOR THE CONVERSION OF THE  
INHABITANTS OF THESE ISLANDS TO ISLÁM : DESCRIPTION  
OF THE EVIL SPIRITS WHO WROUGHT HARM  
TO THEM EVERY MONTH.

Trustworthy men among the inhabitants, such as the

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\* Regarding these servants (M. *femuséri*), who are still employed, Mr. Gray (J. R. A. S., Vol. X., N. S., p. 204) has the following note:—" *Pemousséré* [Pyrard, p. 225] 'bondsmen on loan,' debtors who have to serve their creditor till they pay. They are generally well treated and fed; if not they are entitled to their freedom. 'Many a poor man voluntarily enters the service of some great lord as a *pemousséré* to gain his protection and favour.' Christopher says that the men of Malé having to pay no taxes are very lazy and 'become dependents of any of the chiefs, most of whom retain as many followers as they may be able to support, a large retinue being a sign of rank and power.' Compare with this custom the growth of the feudal system in the West."—B.

juris-consult *Iça Alyamany*,\* the juris-consult and schoolmaster 'Aly, the Kází 'Abd Allah, and others, related to me that the population of the islands used to be idolaters, and that there appeared to them every month an evil spirit from among the Jinn, who came from the direction of the sea. He resembled a ship full of lamps. The custom of the natives, as soon as they perceived him, was to take a young virgin, to adorn her, and conduct her to a *boudkhánah*,† i. e., an idol temple, which was built on the sea shore and had a window by which she was seen. They left her there during the night and returned in the morning: then they found the young girl dishonored and dead. They failed not every month to draw lots, and he upon whom the lot fell gave up his daughter. At length arrived among them a Maghrabin‡ called *Abou'lbérécât*, the Berber, who knew by heart the glorious Kurán. He was lodged in the house of an old woman of the island *Mahal*. One day he visited his hostess and found that she had assembled her relatives, and that the women were weeping as if they were at a funeral. He questioned them upon the subject of their affliction, but they could not make him understand the cause. An interpreter coming in informed him that the lot had fallen upon the old woman and that she had one only daughter, who had to be slain by the evil Jinní. *Abou'lbérécât* said to the woman:

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\* *Iça Alyamany* :—i. e., ? *Isá Falliyá Maniku*. The *Falliyá Maniku* is the Sultan's Secretary and Keeper of the Privy Seal.—*B*.

† *Boudkhánah* :—It is very probable that this was a Buddhist temple. Christopher gives *buḍu* as the modern Máldive for "image" (J. R.A.S., Vol. VI., o.s., p. 57). But the word *bodd* seems to have been a general term for an image with the Arab Oriental travellers, and may only indicate that the Buddhist parts of India were the first visited by the Arabs.—*Journ. As*, 1845, p. 167. Ibn Batúta elsewhere says that the Jama Masjid of Delhi was built upon the sight of a former *Boudkhánah* he does not therefore mean to imply that the word was Máldive. [For some remarks on "Buddhism at the Máldives" see Ceylon Sess. Pap., 1881, 'The Máldive Islands.'—*B*.]

‡ *Maghreb* :—The name given by the Arabs to the Moorish principalities of North-west Africa, nearly corresponding with what we now call Morocco.



“I will go to night in thy daughter’s stead.” At that time, he was entirely beardless. He was conducted the night following to the idol temple after he had done his ablutions. There he set himself to recite the Kurán, then by the window he perceived the demon, and continued his recitation. As soon as the Jinní came within hearing of the Kurán, he plunged into the sea; and when the dawn was come, the Maghrabin was still occupied in reciting the Kurán. The old woman, her relatives and the people of the island came to take away the girl, according to their custom, and to burn the corpse. They found the stranger reciting the Kurán, and conducted him to their King, by name *Chénoûrázah*,\* whom they informed of this adventure. The King was astonished: the Maghrabin proposed to him to embrace Islám, and inspired him with a desire for it. Then said *Chénoûrázah* to him:—“Remain with us till next month, and if you do again as you have just done and escape the evil Jinní, I will be converted.” The stranger remained with the idolaters and God disposed the heart of the King to receive the true faith. He became Musalmán before the end of the month, as well as his wives, children and court. At the beginning of the following month the Maghrabin was conducted to the idol-temple; but the demon came not, and the Berber recited the Kurán till the morning, when the Sultan and his subjects arrived and found him so employed. Then they broke the idols, and razed the temple to the ground. The people of the island embraced Islám, and sent messengers to the other islands, whose inhabitants were also converted. The Maghrabin remained among them, and enjoyed their high esteem. The natives made profession of his doctrine, which was that of the *Imán Málic*. Even at present they respect the Maghrabins for his sake. He built a mosque, which is known by his name. I have also read the following inscription graven in wood on the enclosed pulpit of the

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\* *Chénoûrázah* :—Cf. S. *Senarat* ‘King (Chief Commander) of the army’ and *Seneviratna* ‘the gem-like General.’—B.

grand mosque : “ *Sultan Ahmed Chénouârâzah has received the true faith at the hands of Abou’lbérécât the Berber, the Maghrabin.*”

This Sultan assigned a third of the taxes of the islands as alms to travelling foreigners in recognition of his reception of Islâm through their agency. This share of the taxes still bears a name which recalls this event.

Owing to the demon in question many of the Máldive islands were depopulated before their conversion to Islâm. When I reached the country I was not aware of this matter. One night, when I was at one of my occupations, I heard of a sudden people crying with loud voice the formulæ, “There is no God but God” and “God is very great.” I saw children carrying Kuráns on their heads, and women rapping the insides of basins and vessels of copper. I was astonished at their conduct and said “What is happening”? and they replied “Do you not see the sea”? Upon which I looked and saw a kind of large ship, seemingly full of lamps and chafing-dishes. They said to me “that is the demon; he is wont to show himself once a month: but when once we have done as you have seen, he turns back and does us no harm.\*

#### OF THE QUEEN OF THESE ISLANDS.

One of the marvels of the Máldives is that they have for their Sovereign a woman, by name *Khadîdjah*, daughter of the Sultan *Djélâl eddîn 'Omar*, son of the Sultan *Salâh eddîn Sâlih Albendjâly*. The kingdom had at one time been possessed by her grandfather, then by her father, and when the latter died, her brother, *Chihâb eddîn*, became King. He was a minor, and the Vizier *'Abd Allah*, son of *Mohammed Alhadhramy*

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\* Vestiges of this romantic legend of their conversion to Muhammadanism live in the traditions of the Islanders to this day. But with more probability, they assign to a Shaikh *Yûsup Shams-ud-dîn* of *Tabrij* the honour, which Ibn Batûta not unnaturally would claim for a Maghrabin, and the votaries of Hazrat Mirâ Sâhib for the Nágûr saint (C.A. S. Journ., No. 24, pp. 125-36 1881). Their first royal convert to Islâm the Máldivians commonly know as “*Darumavanta* (= S. *Dharmavanta*, i. e., ‘the Just’) *Rasgefânu*.” The mosque he built still stands, and continues to bear his name.—B,

espoused his mother and assumed authority over him. He is the same personage who married the Sultana *Khadîdjah* after the death of her first husband, the Vizier *Djémâl eddîn*, as we shall describe hereafter. When *Chihâb eddîn* attained full age he ousted his step-father 'Abd'Allah and banished him to the islands of *Souweïd*. He was then left in sole possession, and chose as Vizier one of his freedmen by name 'Aly Calaky,\* whom he deposed at the end of three years and banished to *Souweïd*. It is related of the Sultan *Chihâb eddîn* that he consorted nightly with the wives of the public officers and with courtezans. On that account he was deposed and deported to the province of *Hé-lédoutény* (above spelt *Hélédommety*): afterwards some one was sent and put him to death.

There then remained of the royal family only the sisters of the deceased, *Kadîdjah* who was the eldest, *Miryam* and *Fathimah*. The natives raised *Kadîdjah* to the throne, who was married to their preacher *Djémâl eddîn*. The latter became Vizier and master of the situation† and promoted his son *Mohammed* to the office of Preacher in his own stead: but orders were promulgated only in the name of *Khadîdjah*. These are traced on palm leaves by means of an iron [style] bent down resembling a knife. They write on paper only the Kuráns and scientific treatises. The Preacher makes mention of the Sultana on Fridays and on other days [of public prayer]; and here are the terms used, "O God, succour Thy servant, whom Thou hast in Thy wisdom preferred before other mortals, and whom Thou hast made the instrument of Thy mercy towards all Musalmáns, namely, the Sultana *Khadîdjah* daughter of Sultan *Djélâl eddîn*, son of Sultan *Salâh eddîn*."

When a stranger comes among these people and repairs to the hall of audience, which is called *dâr*,‡ custom requires that he

\* 'Aly Calaky:—i.e., 'Alî Kalége. The title *Kalége-fánu* or *Kalóge-fánu* (Pyrard, *Callogue*) accrues by purchase, not by birth.—B.

† *Mâitre de l'autorité*:—Major A. Ewing suggests "head of affairs" (Ar. 'ralba' 'al ellamar).—B.

‡ *Dâr*:—Ar. 'house.'—B.

should take with him two cloths. He makes obeisance before the Sultana and throws down one of these cloths. Then he salutes her Vizier, who is also her husband, *Djémal eddîn*, and throws down the other. The army of this Queen consists of about a thousand men of foreign birth; some of the soldiers are natives. They come every day to the hall of audience to salute her and then go home. Their pay is in rice, supplied to them at the *bender* (v. s., p. 10) every month. When the month is ended, they present themselves at the audience hall, and, saluting the Vizier, say, "Convey our respects (*to the Queen*) and inform her that we have come to request our pay." Thereupon the necessary orders are given in their favour. The Kází and ministers, who have with the people the title of Viziers, also present themselves every day at the audience hall. They make a salutation, and go away after the eunuchs have transmitted their respects to the Queen.

#### OF THE MINISTERS AND THEIR CONDUCT OF GOVERNMENT.

The people of the Máldives call the Grand Vizier, the Sultana's Lieutenant, *Calaky*\*; and the Kází *Fandayarkâloû*.† All judgments are in the jurisdiction of the Kází: he is more highly esteemed by the people than all other men, and his orders are executed as well as those of the Sultan and even better. He sits upon a carpet in the audience hall: he possesses three islands‡, whose revenue he places to his private account, after an ancient custom

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\* *Calaky* :—? Pers. Pyrard has *Quilague* "regent elect for the kingdom to act in absence of the Sultan" (Gray). [The title *Kilage-fánu* is not restricted to one grandee in the realm. At least three living Máldivian nobles have a right to the designation.—B.]

† *Fandayarkâloû* :—i. e. *Fadiyáru Kalóge-fánu* (Pyrard, *Pandiare*; Chris. *Fandiarhee*) the Chief Priest or Kází. Cf : T. *Pándiya*.—B.

‡ Corresponding with *nindagam* lands in Ceylon, the tenure of which is thus explained in Sir J. D'Oyley's M.S. "Constitution of the Kandyan Kingdom," a copy of which is in my possession :—' *Nindagama*.—A village which, for the time being, is the entire property of the grantee, or temporary chief; definitely granted by the king with *sannas*, it becomes *paraveny*, &c.,' p. 144. A '*gallat gama*' in the lower part of the Four Kóralés, Three Kóralés, and in parts of Sabaragamuwa is a similar tenure.

established by the Sultan *Ahmed Chénourázah*. The Preacher is called *Hendidjéry*\*: the Chief of the Treasury, *Fâmeldâry*†: the Receiver General of Revenue, *Mâfâcalou*‡: the Minister of Police, *Fitnâyec*§: and the admiral, *Mânâyec*§. All these have the title of Vizier. There is no prison in these islands: criminals are shut up in wooden houses built to contain the merchants' goods. Each one is placed in a wooden cell, as we have (*in Morocco*) for the Christian prisoners.

OF MY ARRIVAL AT THESE ISLANDS AND OF THE  
VICISSITUDES WHICH I EXPERIENCED THERE.

When I came to this country I landed at *Cannaloûs* ||, an island fair to behold, where there are many mosques. I was lodged

\* *Hendidjéry*:—i. e., *Hadégiri*, also known as *Bođu Badéri*, in whom are combined now-a-days the offices of Chief of the Treasury and Receiver-General of Revenue. Pyrard writes *Endequery*, "a lord privy councillor, always in attendance upon the King"; Chris. *Hindegere* 'Treasurer' (Gray). Cf: the *Bhândágárikō amachcho* (Turnour's *Mahāvanso*, p. 231, 3) of the old Singhalese court.—B.

† *Fâmeldâry*:—i. e., *Fâmudéri* (*Kilage-fânu*). Pyrard calls one of the great lords *Pammedery calogue*, and Christopher says the 4th Vizier was styled *Famedéri*, but had no distinct duties assigned him. Cf: *S. pâmok, deṭa* and *Mahāvanso*, p. 69, *amachcha pâmukha*.—B.

‡ *Mâfâcalou*:—i. e., *Mafaï* (*Kalôge-fânu*). According to Pyrard the *Manpas* (a probable misprint for *Maupas*) was "chancellor, keeper of the king's privy seal" (Gray). Chris. calls this officer *Mafae*, 5th Vizier. Cf: *S. Mahá* and *pati* in *senâpati, chamûpati* (*Maáhv. passim*).—B.

§ *Fitnâyec*; *Mânâyec*:—These titles have not survived. Cf: *S. Mahá, nâyaka*. Pyrard styles the "First Lord of the Admiralty and President of Board of Trade" (Gray) *Velannas* [*Velána*], and Chris. *Wilono Shadander*, 3rd Vizier. Ibn Batúta makes no mention of the *Dorhiméndá* and *Hakurá* (Chris. *Durimind*: *Hakura*) 1st and 2nd Viziers; Pyrard, *Dorimenaz, Torimesnas*, "commander in chief of the army"; *Acouraz*). For particulars regarding the present government officers at Málé, see Ceylon Sess. Papers, 1881, "The Máldive Islands."—B.

|| *Cannaloûs*:—As Ibn Batúta here mentions an island of the same name above given to one of the "zones" or atolls, the French editors are likely in error in identifying it with Collomandu atoll, there being no island in that

at the house of one of the most pious inhabitants. The lawyer 'Aly gave me a feast. He was a distinguished person and had sons addicted to study. I saw there a man named *Mohammed* a native of *Zhafâr Alhomôûdh*, who entertained me and said to me, "If you set foot on the island of *Mahal*, the Vizier will forcibly detain you, for the people have no *Kâzî*." It was then my intention to get away from that country to Ma'bar (*Coromandel coast*), to Serendib (*Ceylon*), to Bengal, and then to China. I had then arrived at the *Mâldives* in a ship whose captain was 'Omar *Alhinaoury*, who was one of the virtuous pilgrims. When we had come into harbour at *Cannaloûs*, he remained there ten days: then he hired a little barque to take him thence to *Mahal*, bearing a present for the Queen and her Consort. I wished to go with him, but he said, "The barque is not big enough for you and your companions: if you like to set out without them, it is your affair." I declined this proposal, and 'Omar took his departure. But the wind was contrary (*literally 'played with him'*) and at the end of four days he came back to us, not without having experienced trouble. He made his excuses to me, and implored me to go with him, my companions and all. We set sail in the morning and towards midday disembarked on an island: leaving that, we passed the night at another. After a four days cruise, we arrived at the province of *Teïm*, the governor of which was one *Hilâl*. He welcomed me, and gave me a feast: and afterwards came to visit me accompanied by four men, two of whom had on their shoulders a rod\* from which were suspended four chickens. The other two had a similar rod to which were attached about ten coconuts. I was

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atoll of the name *Cannaloûs* or one resembling it. It is unlikely too that Ibn Batûta coming from the north made his landing at a point so far south as *Collomandu*. The termination '*lous*,' moreover or '*lu*' seems in the modern names of the islands to be quite distinct from '*du*.' [*V. s.*, p. 5, for identification of this island with *Kinalos* in *Mâlosmaçulu Atol*. *M. los* = ? the *bois mapou* tree of the *Chagos* group: *M. dû* = *S. diva* 'islet.'—*B.*]

\* *M. daçimâru*—the *katliya* of the *Sinhalese*—*B.*

surprised that they thought so highly of these common objects: but was informed that they do this as a token of consideration and respect.\*

After leaving these people we landed on the sixth day at the island of *Othmān*, a distinguished man and one of the best one could meet. He received us with honour and entertained us. On the eighth day we put into an island belonging to a Vizier named *Télemdy*. On the tenth, we at length reached the island of *Mahal*, where the Sultana and her Consort reside, and cast anchor in the harbour. It is a custom of the country that no one may disembark without the permission of the inhabitants.† This was accorded to us: and I then desired to betake myself to some mosque, but the slaves on the beach prevented me, saying, "It is necessary that you should first visit the Vizier." I had requested the captain when he should be questioned about me to say, "I know nothing of him"; for fear lest they should detain me, being unaware that some ill-advised babbler had written to them an account of me, and that I had been Kází at Delhi. On our arrival at the audience hall, we took our seats on benches at the third entrance door. The Kází '*Iça Alyamany* came up and welcomed me, while I saluted the Vizier. The ship captain *Ibrâhīm* (above he is called 'Omar) brought ten pieces of worked stuffs, made a salute before the Queen, and threw down one of them: then he bent the knee in honor of the Vizier and threw down another, and so on to the last. He was questioned about me, and replied, "I know nothing of him."

We were then presented with betel and rose-water which is a mark of honor with them. The Vizier gave us lodging in a house and sent us a repast consisting of a large bowl full of rice and surrounded with plates of salted meats dried in the sun, chickens, melted butter and fish. On the morrow I set out with the captain and the Kází, '*Iça Alyamany* to visit a hermitage

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\* The Sinhalese *penumkaḍa* or pingo of presents of sweetmeats, provisions, fruits, &c.

† Enforced to this day—*B*,

situated at the extremity of the island and founded by the virtuous Shaikh *Nedjib*.\* We returned at night, and on the following morning the Vizier sent me some raiment, and a repast comprising rice, melted butter, salt, sun-dried meat, coconuts, and honey extracted from the same fruit, called by the natives *korbány*,† signifying 'sugar-water.' They brought me also 100,000 cowries for my expenses. After ten days there arrived a ship from Ceylon, having on board some Persian and Arab fakírs who knew me and told the servants of the Vizier all about me. This enhanced the pleasure given by my coming. He sent for me at the commencement of Ramazán. I found the Chiefs and Viziers already assembled: food was served at the tables, each of which accommodated a certain number of guests. The Grand Vizier made me sit by his side, in company of the Kází 'Iṣā, the *Fâmeldâry* Vizier or Chief of the Treasury, and the Vizier 'Omar, the *Déherd*,‡ i. e., General of the army. The dinner of these islanders consists of rice, chickens, melted butter, fish, salt, sun-dried meat, and cooked bananas. After eating, they drink the coco honey mingled with aromatics, which facilitates digestion.

On the 9th of Ramazán, the son-in-law of the Vizier died. His wife, the daughter of that minister, had already been married to the Sultan *Chihâb eddîn*: but neither of her husbands had cohabited with her on account of her youth. Her father, the

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\* This old shrine (*Najibu miskitu*), it is said, may still be seen at Málé.—B.

† *Korbány*:—Probably ought to be '*hakorbany*' equivalent to the Singhalese *hakuru*, 'jaggery': *peni*, 'honey,' the former word appearing as *acourou* for 'coco-honey' in the vocabulary of Pyrard.

‡ *Déherd*:—Cf. Pyrard, *Darade Tacourou* "count or duke," and Chris. Dahara, 6th Vizier. "As each incumbent of the first five Vizierships died no successor appears to have been appointed, and the titles thus gradually became extinct. That of the 6th Vizier alone survives in the person of the son of the former *Dáhará*.....The *Dáhará* (*Takuru-fánu*) has no specific department of public business to supervise. But for a certain voice in military and municipal affairs his office would be a titular sinecure." (*The Maldive Islands*, Ceylon Sess. Pap. 1881). Cf: the Singhalese *Dovârîka* (Maháv. p. 117, 11), but also the Persian *Daroogha*.—B.



Vizier, took her back home, and gave me her house, which was one of the most charming. I asked permission to entertain the fakírs returning from visiting the Foot of Adam, in the island of Ceylon (*see below*). This he granted, and sent me five sheep, a rare animal with the islanders, having to be brought from Ma'bar (*Coromandel Coast*) from Malabar and from *Makdachaou*. The Vizier sent me also rice, chickens, melted butter and spices. I had all these carried to the house of the Vizier *Souleimán*, the *Mânâyec* (*Admiral*), who took the greatest care in having them cooked, augmented them in quantity, and sent me carpets and copper vessels. We broke the fast according to custom, in the palace of the Sultana, with the Grand Vizier, and I requested him to permit some of the other Viziers to assist at my dinner. He said "I will come myself too." I thanked him and returned home: but he had already arrived with the Viziers and grandees of the State. He seated himself in a raised pavilion of wood. All who came, whether Chiefs or Viziers, saluted the Grand Vizier, and threw down a piece of unworked stuff, in such numbers that the total reached to a hundred or thereabouts, all of which the fakírs appropriated. Dinner was then served and eaten: then the readers of the Kurán gave a reading with their fine voices, after which were singing and dancing. I had a fire prepared, and the fakírs then entered and trampled it under foot; some of them even ate the live embers, as one would devour sweetmeats, until the flame was extinguished.

#### THE STORY OF SOME OF THE VIZIER'S BENEFACTIONS TO ME.

When the night was ended, the Vizier went home and I accompanied him. We passed a garden belonging to the Treasury, and the Vizier said to me, "This garden is for you: I will have a house built upon it to serve for your residence." I praised his kind action, and made vows in his favour. Next day he sent me a young female slave, and his messenger said, "The Vizier bids me say, if this girl pleases you, she is yours: otherwise he will

send a Mahratta slave." I liked the young Mahratta girls, so I replied "I desire only the Mahratta," The minister had one brought to me, by name *Gulistán*, which signifies "the flower of the garden" (or more exactly 'the parterre of flowers'). She knew the Persian tongue, and pleased me highly. The Máldive inhabitants have a language which I did not understand.

The next day, the Vizier sent me a young female slave from Coromandel by name *Anbéry* (*ambergris colour*). On the following evening he came to my house with some of his servants, and entered attended by two little [boy] slaves. I saluted him, and he asked me how I did. I made vows for his welfare and thanked him. One of the slaves put before him a *lokchah* (*bokchah*),\* that is, a kind of napkin, from which he drew some silk stuffs and a box containing pearls and trinkets. The Vizier made me a present of them, adding, "If I had sent these with the young slave, she would have said 'This is my property: I brought it from the house of my master.' Now that the things belong to you, make her a present of them." I addressed prayers to God for the minister, and rendered to him expressions of my gratitude, of which he was worthy.

OF THE VIZIER'S CHANGE OF DISPOSITION TOWARDS ME;  
OF THE PROJECT WHICH I FORMED TO DEPART; AND  
OF MY CONTINUED SOJOURN AT THE MÁLDIVÈS.

The Vizier *Souleïmân*, the *Mânâyec*, had proposed to me to espouse his daughter. I sent to ask the permission of the Vizier *Djémâl eddîn* to conclude the marriage. My messenger returned saying, "It does not please him; he wishes you to marry his daughter when the legal term of her widowhood shall have expired." I refused to consent to this union, fearing the sinister fortune attached to the daughter of the Vizier, since two husbands had already died without having consummated the marriage. In the midst of all this a fever seized me, and I was very ill.

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\* *Lokchah* or *bokchah*:—If the latter be the correct reading = ? *burugá* the cloth worn over the face at times by Máldive ladies,—B.

Every person who goes to that island must inevitably catch the fever.\* I made a strong resolve to get out of the country : I sold a portion of my trinkets for cowries, and chartered a ship to take me to Bengal. When I went to take my leave of the Vizier, the Kází coming out met me, and addressed me in these terms, "The Vizier," said he, "bids me tell you this 'If you wish to go away, give us back what we have given you and then go.'" I replied, "With a part of my trinkets I have bought cowries ; do with them what you will." In a little while the Kází returned to me and said, "The Vizier says 'We have given you gold, not cowries,'" I replied, "Very well: I will sell them and will pay you gold." Accordingly I sent to request the merchants to buy the shells from me. But the Vizier gave them orders not to deal with me ; for his design, in so conducting himself, was to prevent me going away from him.

Then he deputed one of his intimates, who had this conversation with me, "The Vizier bids me request you to remain with us and you shall have everything you desire." So I said to myself, "I am under their authority: if I do not stay with a good grace, I shall have to stay by constraint : a voluntary sojourn is preferable to that." I therefore made reply to the envoy, "Very well: I shall remain with him." The messenger returned to his master, who was delighted with my reply, and sent for me. When I entered his presence, he got up and embraced me, saying, "We wish you to remain with us, and you wish to go!" I made my excuses, which were accepted, and said, "If you wish me to stay, I will impose upon you certain conditions." The Vizier replied, "We accept them : please to name them." I answered, "I am unable to walk on foot." For it is a custom of the country that

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\* "On la connoist par toute l' Inde sous le nom de fièvre des Maldives. Ils l'appellent *Malé ons* [*hun* or *huma*]. C'est de cette maladie que la plupart de mes compagnons estoient morts, comme tous estrangers ne manquent pas d'en estre bientost atteints," (Pyrard, p. 95 ; again p. 201). The Indian Navy Surveyors (1834-6) suffered much from this pest of the group.—B.

no one rides on horseback, except the Vizier. So it was that when I had a horse\* given to me and was mounted, the crowd of men, as well as children, began to follow me with astonishment, whereof I complained to the Vizier. Accordingly a *donkorah* was beaten, and it was proclaimed among the people that no one should follow me. The *donkorah* is a kind of copper basin, which is struck with an iron rod [or hammer], and gives a noise heard afar.† After it is struck, the crier cries in public whatever he required.

The Vizier said to me, "If you wish to ride in a palaquin, well and good : otherwise we have a stallion and a mare : choose which of these animals you prefer." I chose the mare which was brought to me at once. At the same time some garments were brought to me. I said to the Vizier, "What shall I do with the cowries which I have bought?" He replied, "Send one of your companions to sell them for you in Bengal." "I will do so," said I, "on condition that you send some one to help him in the affair." "I will," he replied. So I despatched my comrade *Abou Mohammed*, son of *Ferhán*, in whose company they sent one called the pilgrim '*Aly*. But it happened that a storm arose: the crew jettisoned the whole cargo, including even the mast, the water, and all the other provisions for the voyage. They remained for sixteen days without sail, rudder, &c. ; and after the endurance of hunger, thirst, and toil, they arrived at the island of Ceylon. In a year's time my comrade *Abou Mohammed* came back to me. He had visited the Foot (of *Adam*) and he afterwards saw it again with me.

#### ACCOUNT OF THE FESTIVAL IN WHICH I TOOK PART WITH THE ISLANDERS.

The month of Ramazán ended, the Vizier sent me some [proper] raiment, and we made our way to the place consecrated

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\* In November, 1879, there were but two horses in the Islands, the property of the Sultan at Málé, "wretched wry-legged weeds, not fit to ride," and kept merely for show.—B.

† *Donkorah* :—Ibn Batúta's ignorance of the Máldive language may possibly have led him to confuse *dummarhi*, the term for the 'flagiolet,' with *kolé* 'gong.' The iron striker is called *dadigaðu*.—B.

for prayer. The path which the minister had to traverse, between his residence and the place of prayer, had been decorated: stuffs had been spread, and there had been placed to right and left heaps (*literally cotta's, v. s., p. 11*) of cowries. All the Emirs and grandees who had houses on the road had planted near them little coco-trees, arecas, and bananas. Ropes were hung from one tree to the next, and green nuts were suspended from the ropes. The master of the house remained near the gate, and when the Vizier passed, he threw before his feet a piece of silk or cotton. The slaves of the minister appropriated these, as well as the cowries placed by the way. The Vizier advanced on foot, covered with an ample robe of goat's hair of Egyptian manufacture, and with a large turban. As a scarf he wore a kerchief of silk; four umbrellas shaded his head, and sandals covered his feet. All his attendants without exception had their feet bare. Trumpets, clarions, and drums\* preceded him: the soldiers marched before and behind him, all shouting the cry "*God is very great!*" until they were arrived at the place of prayer.

Prayer ended, the son of the Vizier preached: then was brought a litter which the Vizier mounted. The Emirs and the other grandees again saluted him, casting down pieces of stuffs according to custom. Before this time the Grand Vizier used not to ride in a litter, for the Kings alone did so. The bearers then lifted it; I mounted my horse, and we entered the palace. The minister seated himself at a raised dais, having near him the Viziers and the Emirs. The slaves remained standing, bearing shields, swords, and staves.† Food was then served, and afterwards arecanuts and betel, after which was brought a little dish containing sandal *mokassiry*.‡ As soon as one party of the guests

\* M. *tálafili*; *dummárhí*; *beru*.—B.

† M. *addana*; *kadi*; *dadi*.—B.

‡ *Mokassiry*: = ? M. *kasturi* '*musk*.'—B.

had eaten, they rubbed themselves with sandal. That day I saw upon one of their dishes a fish of the species of sardines, salted and raw, which had been sent as a present from *Caoulem*. This fish is very abundant on the Malabar Coast. The Vizier took a sardine, and began to eat it, at the same time saying to me, "Eat some of that ; it is not found in our country." I answered, "How can I eat it? It is not cooked." "It is cooked," said he. But I replied, "I know this fish well, for it abounds in my native land."

#### OF MY MARRIAGE AND OF MY NOMINATION TO THE DIGNITY OF KÁZÍ.

On the 10th day of Shawwál I agreed with the Vizier *Souleïmán Mânâyec*, or Admiral, that I should espouse his daughter, and I sent to request the Vizier *Djémál eddîn* that the betrothal should take place in his presence at the palace. He agreed and sent betel, according to custom, and sandal. The people were present for the ceremony. The Vizier *Souleïmán* delayed his coming. He was sent for : and yet he came not. He was sent for a second time, and he excused himself on account of the illness of his daughter: but the Grand Vizier said to me in private, "His daughter refuses to marry ; and she is mistress of her own actions. But see ! the people are assembled : would you like to espouse the step-mother of the Sultana, the widow of her father?" (The Grand Vizier's son was then married to this woman's daughter). I replied "Yes, by all means." He then convoked the Kází and the notaries. The profession of the Musalmán faith was then recited, and the Vizier paid the dowry. After some days my wife was brought to me. She was one of the best women who ever lived. Such was her good manners, that when I became her husband, she anointed me with scented oils and perfumed my clothes ; during this operation she laughed and allowed nothing disagreeable to be seen.

When I had married this lady, the Vizier constrained me to accept the functions of the Kází. The cause of my nomina-

tion was that I had reproached the Kází for taking the tenth part of inheritances, when he made partition among the heirs. I said to him, "You ought to have only a fee, which you should agree for with the heirs." This judge did nothing rightly. After I was invested with the dignity of Kází, I used all my efforts to have the precepts of the law observed. Disputes are not settled in that country as in ours. The first bad custom which I reformed concerned the sojourn of divorced women at the houses of those who had repudiated them ; for these women did not cease to remain at the houses of their former husbands, until they got married to others. I prevented this being done under any pretext. About five and twenty men were brought to me who had conducted themselves in this sort. I had them beaten with whips,\* and had them marched through the bazárs. As for the women, I compelled them to leave the homes of these men. Next I exerted myself to get prayers celebrated : I ordered some men to run down the streets and bazárs immediately after the Friday's prayers. If any were discovered, who had not prayed, I had him beaten and marched through the town. I compelled the *Imâms* and *Mouezzins* in possession of fixed appointments to apply themselves assiduously in their duties. I wrote in the same sense to (*the magistrates of*) all the other islands. Lastly I essayed to make the women dress themselves, but in this I did not succeed.

OF THE ARRIVAL OF THE VIZIER 'ABD ALLAH, SON OF  
 MOHAMMED ALHADHRAMY WHOM SULTAN CHIHAB  
 EDDIN HAD BANISHED TO SOUWEID: ACCOUNT  
 OF WHAT PASSED BETWEEN US.

I had espoused the step-daughter of this personage, and I loved this wife very dearly. When the Grand Vizier recalled him to the Island of *Mahal*, I sent him presents, went to meet

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\* *M. durrá.* Pyrard has *gleau* "leathern thongs used for corporal punishment."—*B.*

him, and accompanied him to the palace. He saluted the Grand Vizier, who lodged him in a magnificent house, and there I often visited him. It happened, when I passed the month of Ramazán in prayer, that all the inhabitants visited me, except 'Abd-Allah. The Vizier *Djémál eddîn* himself came to see me, and 'Abd-Allah with him, but only bearing him company. Enmity arose between us. Afterwards when I came out of my retreat, the maternal uncles of my wife, the step-daughter of 'Abd-Allah made a complaint to me. They were the sons of the Vizier *Djémál eddîn Assindjary*. Their father had appointed the Vizier 'Abd-Allah to be their guardian, and their property was still in his hands, although they had by the law emerged from wardship. They demanded his appearance in Court. It was my custom when I summoned one of the contending parties to send him a slip of paper, either with or without writing. On delivery of that the party repaired to the Court; if he did not, I punished him. In this way I sent a slip to 'Abd-Allah. This procedure raised his choler, and on account thereof he conceived a hatred for me. He concealed his enmity and sent some one to plead for him. Some unseemly language was reported to me as having been used by him.

The islanders, both gentle and simple, were accustomed to salute the Vizier 'Abd-Allah in the same way as the Vizier *Djémál eddîn*. Their salutation consists in touching the ground with the forefinger, then kissing it, and placing it on the head. I issued orders to the public crier, and he proclaimed in the Queen's palace in the presence of witnesses, that whoever should render homage to 'Abd-Allah in like manner as to the Grand Vizier should incur severe chastisement. And I exacted from him a promise that he would not allow men to do so. His enmity against me was now increased. Meantime I married another wife, daughter of a highly esteemed Vizier, whose grandfather was the Sultan *Dáoud*, the grand-son of the Sultan



*Ahmed Chénôûrâzah*.\* Then I married one who had been married to the Sultan *Chihâb eddîn*, and I had three houses built in the garden which the Vizier gave to me. My fourth wife, the step-daughter of 'Abd-Allah, lived at her own house. She was the one of all my wives whom I cherished the most. Thus allied by marriage to the persons named, the Vizier and the people of the island feared me much, by reason of their own weakness. False reports were spread between me and the Grand Vizier, in great part by the care of the Vizier 'Abd-Allah, so that our estrangement became final.

OF MY DEPARTURE FROM THESE PEOPLE, AND OF  
THE MOTIVE THEREOF.

It happened that one day the wife of a slave of the late Sultan *Djelâl eddîn* made a complaint of him to the Vizier, to the effect that he had a liaison with one of the Sultan's concubines. The Vizier sent witnesses, who entered the girl's house and found the slave asleep with her upon the same carpet. Both were taken into custody. In the morning, on being informed of this, I went to the audience hall and took my seat in my customary place. I made no reference to the affair. A courtier then approached me and said, "The Vizier requests to know if you have any business with him." I replied, "No." The design of the minister was that I should speak of the affair of the concubine and the slave; for it was my invariable rule to decide every case which he put before me. But as I was showing him my dissatisfaction and dislike, I omitted to do so then. I went straightway to my own house and took my seat where I delivered my judgments. Soon after came a Vizier, saying on behalf of the Grand Vizier, "Yesterday, so and so occurred in

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\* This relationship fixes approximately the date of *Chénôûrâzah* and of the Muhammedan conversion, which may have been as early as 1200 A. D., but—allowing for early marriages—perhaps more probably about 1220, or 1230 A.D.—See Paper on the Maldives, J. R. A. S., Vol. X., N. S., 1878., p. 177.

the matter of the concubine and slave : judge both of them conformably with the law." I replied, "It is a cause in which it is not fitting to deliver judgment save at the Sultan's palace." I then returned thither : the people assembled, and the concubine and the slave were summoned. I ordered that both should be beaten for their liaison ; and adjudged that the woman should be set at liberty and the slave kept in prison : after which I returned home.

The Vizier sent several of his principal attendants to speak to me about setting the slave at liberty. I said to them, "Intercession is made with me in favor of a negro slave, who has violated the respect which he owed to his master ; while but yesterday, you have deposed the Sultan *Chihâb eddîn* and slain him, because he went into the house of one of his slaves." Thereupon I ordered the prisoner to be beaten with bambu switches, which produced more effect than the whip. I had him marched through the whole island, with a rope round his neck. The messengers of the Vizier went and informed him of what passed. He discovered great agitation and was inflamed with anger. He assembled the other Viziers, the chiefs of the army, and sent for me. I obeyed the summons. It was my custom to pay him homage by bending the knee. This time I did not do so, only saying "Peace be with you !" \* Then I said to those present, "Be ye witnesses that I resign my functions as *Kâzî*, because I am rendered powerless to exercise them." The Vizier having then bespoke me, I went up and took a seat in front of him, and then I answered him in terms yet more severe. After this rencontre, the *Mouezzîn* made the call to prayer at sun-down, and the Grand Vizier entered his house, saying, "It is pretended that I am a sovereign ; but see ! I have sent for this man in order to vent my wrath upon him, and he dares to be angry with me." I was only respected by these islanders for the sake of the Sultan of India, for they knew the position I occupied under

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\* *Salaam alescon !—Ar.*

him. Although they are far removed from him, they fear him much in their hearts.

When the Grand Vizier had returned to his house, he sent the deposed Kází, an eloquent speaker, who addressed me as follows:—"Our master requires to know why you have violated, in the presence of witnesses, the respect which is due to him, and why you have not rendered him homage?" I replied, "I saluted him only when my heart was satisfied with him; but now that dissatisfaction has supervened, I have renounced the usage. The salutation of Musalmáns consists only of the word *assélâm*, (*Peace be with you!*) and that I have pronounced." The Vizier sent this person a second time, and he then said, "You have no other aim but that of leaving us; pay the dowries of your wives, and what you owe to the men, and go when you will." At this speech I bowed and went to my house and paid such debts as I had contracted. Up to this time the Vizier had given me carpets and a suite of furniture, consisting of copper vessels, and other things. He used to grant me everything I asked; he loved me and treated me with consideration; but his disposition changed and he became inspired with fear of me.

When he heard that I had paid my debts and that I was intending to depart, he repented of what he had said, and put off granting me permission to go. I adjured him by the strongest oaths that I was under necessity to resume my voyage. I removed my belongings to a mosque upon the beach, and repudiated one of my wives. Another was with child, to her I gave a term of nine months, within which I might return, or in default thereof she was to be mistress of her own actions. I took with me that one of my wives who had been married to the Sultan *Chiháb eddîn* in order to restore her to her father who dwelt in the island of *Molouúc*, and my first wife, whose daughter was half-sister to the Sultana. I agreed with the Vizier '*Omar Deherd* (or *General of the army*, v. s. p. 22) and the Vizier

*Haçan*, the Admiral, that I should go to the country of *Ma'bar*\* (*Coromandel*), the king of which was my brother-in-law, and that I should return with troops, to the end that the islands might be reduced under his authority, and that I should then exercise the power in his name. I chose to serve as signals between us, white flags to be hoisted on board the vessels. As soon as they should see these, they were to rise in rebellion on shore. I never had any such idea, up to the day when I showed my displeasure. The Vizier was afraid of me and said to the people, "This man is determined to get the Vizierate, me living or dead." He made many enquiries about me, and added, "I have heard that the King of India has sent him money, to use in raising trouble against me." He dreaded my departure lest I should return from the Coromandel Coast with troops. He bade me remain until he should get a ship ready for me: but I refused.

The half-sister of the Queen complained to her of the departure of her mother with me. The Queen wished to prevent her, but did not succeed. When she saw her resolved to go, she said to her, "All the trinkets you possess were provided with money from the custom-house. If you have witnesses to swear that *Djélâl eddîn* gave them to you, good and well; otherwise restore them." These trinkets were of considerable value; nevertheless my wife gave them up to these people. The Viziers and Chiefs came to me while I was at the mosque, and prayed me to return. I replied to them, "Had I not sworn, assuredly I would return." They said, "Go then to some other island, so that your oath be kept, and then return." "Very well," said I, to satisfy them. When the day of my departure

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\* The name *Ma'bar* ('passage' or 'ferry') was given to the Coromandel coast by the Arabs during the 13th and 14th centuries. Col. Yule suggests that it referred to the communication with Ceylon, or, as is more probable, to its being at that age the coast most frequented by travellers from Arabia and the Gulf (Marco Polo II., p. 268). The tract of coast called *Ma'bar* extended from Cape Comorin to Nellore.

was come, I went to bid adieu to the Vizier. He embraced me and wept in such wise that his tears fell upon my feet. He passed the following night watching in the island, for fear lest my connections by marriage and my comrades should rise in rebellion against him.

At length I got away and arrived at the island of the Vizier *'Aly*. My wife was in great distress, and wished to return. I repudiated her and left her there, and wrote this news to the Vizier, for she was the mother of his son's wife. I repudiated also the wife to whom I had fixed the term (*for my return*) and sent for a slave girl I was fond of. Meanwhile we sailed through the midst of the islands, from one group to another.

#### OF WOMEN WHO HAVE ONLY ONE BREAST.

In one of the islands I saw a woman who had only one breast. She was mother of two daughters, of whom one resembled her exactly, and the other had two breasts, only that one was large and full of milk, the other small and contained none. I was astonished at the conformation of these women.

We arrived in course at another of these islands which was small, and had a solitary house, occupied by a weaver,\* a married man and father of a family. He possessed small coco trees, and a little barque,† which served him for fishing and visiting the other islands when he wished: on his islet were also small bananas trees. We saw there none of the birds of the continent, except two crows, which flew in front of us on our arrival and circled round our ship. I truly envied the lot of this man, and made a vow that if his island should belong to me, I would retire to it until the inevitable term should arrive for me.

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\* Mats, and some cloths, are woven in Huvadú (Suvádīva) Atol; the former on the islands *Gaddú*, *Havara Tinadú*, and *Gemaná-furhi*.—B.

† M. *mas odi*.—B.

I next arrived at the island of *Moloûc*,\* where I found the ship belonging to the captain *Ibrâhîm* in which I had resolved to sail to the Coromandel Coast. That person came to visit me along with his companions, and they entertained me at a fine feast. The Vizier had written in my favor an order requiring them to give me at this island 120 *bostoû* ( *v. s. p.* 11) of cowries, 20 goblets of *athouân*† or coco-honey, and to add to that every day a certain quantity of betel, arecanuts, and fish. I remained at *Moloûc* 70 days, and married two wives there. *Moloûc* is one of the fairest islands to see, being verdant and fertile. Among other marvellous things to be seen there, I remarked that a branch cut off one of the trees there, and planted in the ground or on a wall, will cover itself with leaves and become itself a tree. I observed also that the pomegranate tree there ceases not to bear fruit the whole year round. The inhabitants of this island were afraid that the captain *Ibrâhîm* was going to harry them at his departure. They therefore wanted to seize the arms which his ship contained, and to keep them until the day of his departure. A dispute arose on this subject, and we returned to *Mahal*, but did not disembark. I wrote to the Vizier informing him of what had taken place. He sent a written order to the effect that there was no ground for seizing the arms of the crew. We then returned to *Moloûc*, and left it again in the middle of the month of Rabî the second of the year 745 (*26th August A. D.* 1344). In the month of Shabân of the same year (*December, 1344*), died the Vizier *Djémâl eddîn*. The Sultana was with child by him and was delivered after his death. The Vizier *Abd-Allah* took her to wife.

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\* *Moloûc*:—Moluk, the chief island of Moluk Atol, is in lat. 2° 57' N. The Admiralty Chart says that it possesses good water. [More probably *Fua Mulaku* Island, which lies detached a little S. E. of the centre of the Equatorial Channel (lat. 0° 17, S.) between Huvadú and Addú Atols. Ibn Batúta had already "sailed through the midst of the islands, from one group to another."—*B.*]

† *Athouân*.—Above at p. 22 coco-honey is called *korbány*. In Moura's edition of Ibn Batúta (Lisbon, 1855), the word appears as *alatuan*.

As for us, we sailed on, though without an experienced pilot. The distance which separates the Máldives from the Coromandel Coast is three days' sail. We were for nine days under sail, and on the 9th we went on shore at the island of Ceylon. We perceived the mountain of *Sérendib* raised in the air like a column of smoke. When we came near the island, the mariners said, "This port is not in the country of a Sultan in whose dominions the merchants can go in all safety; it is in the country of the Sultan *Airy Chacarouaty*\* who is one of the unjust and perverse. He has ships engaged in piracy on the high seas." Wherefore we feared to land at his port, but, the wind rising, we were in danger of being swamped, and I said to the Captain, "Put me ashore and I will get for you a safe-conduct from this Sultan." He did as I requested, and put me out on the beach. The idolaters advanced to meet us and said, "Who are you?" I apprized them that I was the brother-in-law and friend of the Sultan of Coromandel, that I was on my way to pay him a visit, and that what was on board the ship was destined for a present to that prince. The natives went to their Sovereign and communicated to him my reply. He sent for me, and I presented myself before him at the town of *Batthálah* (*Puttalam*)† which was his capital. It is

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\* *Airy Chacarouaty*:—This seems to be the (?) Páñdiyan prince, "Aareya Chakka Warti," mentioned in Pridham (Ceylon, Vol I., p. 78), who, after 1371 A.D., conquered the northern half of the Island, and took King Wikrama captive, but was defeated by the Adigar Alakeswara, and possibly the same Malabar Prince captured and put to death by Prince "Sapoomal Cumara."—See Upham's *Rájawali*, p. 264, 269. [A correspondent writes :—"The name identifies no individual. All the Kings of Jaffna seem to have been called Ariya or Ariyan—an old title in India. See the Khandagiri rock inscription, and one of those over the Manikpura cave at Udayagiri (Cunningham's *Corpus Insc. Indic.*, Vol. I.) Jaffna at this period (A.D. 1344) was, if the *Vaipava Málai* can be trusted, under the rule of Kunavirasinka Ariyan."—B.]

† *Batthálah*:—This town has been identified with *Puttalam* by Lee, Tennent, the French Editor, and Col. Yule, successively; but, it seems to me, without sufficient authority. The *â* of *Batthálah* is against it; so too the want

a neat little place, surrounded by a wall and bastions of wood. All the neighbouring shore was covered with trunks of cinnamon trees, torn up by the torrents. This wood was collected on the beach, and formed as it were hillocks. The inhabitants of Coromandel and of Malabar take it away without payment, save only that in return for this favor they make a present to the Sultan of

of corroborative evidence of the existence of Puttalam as a town of any importance at this period, and the want of any river in its neighbourhood answering to the "torrents" spoken of by the traveller. This last point, and the doubtful existence of cinnamon so far north as Puttalam, are the only difficulties raised by Tennent (Vol. I., p. 580). The site of *Batthālah* has to be found with a full consideration of the cinnamon question, and, of the site of *Ménâr Mendely*, the town at which Ibn Batûta: first halts on his journey towards the Peak. With his usual laborious care Tennent (Vol. I., p. 596) has examined all the early authorities known to him, and concludes that the text here gives the first mention of cinnamon as a product of Ceylon. Col. Yule, however (Marco Polo, Vol. II., p. 255), points out that two previous notices of it exist, one in Kazwini (*circa* A.D. 1275), the other in a letter from John of Montecorvino (*Ethe's Kazwini*, 229 ; *Cathay*, 213.)

The account given by our traveller shews that it was not as yet cultivated, and perhaps that the "trunks" seen by him were not those of the valuable variety of later days, but of the common indigenous *cassia*. I am not aware whether the cultivation, or growth, of cinnamon positively ceases at Chilaw, as seems to be the common opinion: but, even if this be true of the Ceylon cinnamon of commerce, it may not be so of the indigenous plant, and the area of production may be more limited now than in the 4th century. Ribeyro (Lee's edn., p. 15), says "there is a forest of it 12 leagues in extent between Chilaw and the pagoda of Tenevary," without saying that Chilaw is the northern limit: the French translator (at p. 11) in his note, remarks 'that it is only found between *Grudumalé* and *Tenevaré*.' Now the promontory of Kutiraimalai is a considerable distance north of Puttalam: and I have little doubt that the French translator had good authority for the assertion. The remaining difficulty, that of the "torrents," inclines me to believe that the site of *Batthālah* was probably further north, near the mouth of the Kalá-oya, where the free access to the sea by the passage between Kalpiṭiya and Kárativu would seem to designate a more suitable situation for a Prince, whose strength lay in ships.

It now remains to fix *Ménâr Mendely*, which has been identified by preceding commentators, and not unnaturally, with the *Minneri Mundal* of



stuffs and such things. Between Coromandel and the island of Ceylon there is a distance of a day and a night. There is also found in this island plenty of brazil-wood,\* as well as Indian aloes, called *alcalakhy* (perhaps from the Greek *αγάλλοκον*†), but which does not resemble the *kamâry* or the *kâkouly*.‡ We shall speak of them hereafter.

#### OF THE SULTAN OF CEYLON.

He is called *Aïry Chacarouaty*, and he is a powerful King upon the sea. I saw in one day, while I was on the Coromandel

Arrowsmith's map, adopted by Tennent. This place is represented as upon the Calpentyne [Kalpitiya] peninsular, due west of Puttalam, and I could never account for the traveller taking it on his route to the Peak. I am now informed that no such place exists. There is, however, on the present road, about half way between Puttalam and Chilaw, a village called *Muntal* or *Mundal*, four miles north of the Battul-oya, which seems to me to suit the description of the traveller in every way. *Mênâr Mendely* was the frontier town of the *Batthâlah* Prince, as *Bender Sêlâouât* (Chilaw) must (from the term *Bender*) have been to the Sinhalese King of the South: and the low jungles of the neighbourhood have always been a favourite haunt of wild buffaloes. By the Census of 1871, I find Mundal and Tândivila together had a population of 128, and Paniya Muntal, a neighbouring village, of 80. In conclusion, I have to state that the correspondent who has indicated the places on the Peak route, is of opinion that *Batthâlah* is Jaffna and *Mênâr Mendely*, Mannâr. I have been unable, after due consideration, to adopt his views, nor could I state them here at sufficient length. I trust, however, that if he has no objection he will formulate them in a separate paper for the use of the Society.

\* *Brazil-wood*:—i.e., "sapan." "'They have brazil-wood, much the best in the world.' Kazwini names it, and Ribeyro (Lee's edn., p. 16) does the like."—Yule, Marco Polo, Vol. II., pp. 254, 256.

† *Alcalakhy*:—Mr. L. Nell considers the surmise of the French editors correct. "Ibn Batûta evidently uses the Greek term *agallokou* corresponding to the Latin *Excaecaria agallocha*. The Socotrine variety of aloes is the usual medicinal species. Two indigenous species are known in India, the *Aloe Indica* and the *Aloe litoralis*. One of these grows freely in Puttalam, and is known by the Tamil name, *takkali*."—B.

‡ *Kamâry*; *kâkouly*.—Dr. S. Lee (Travels of Ibn Batûta, p. 184) identifies the latter of these plants on the authority of Ibn Husain's Medical Dictionary.—B.

Coast, a hundred of his ships, both small and great, which had just arrived. There were in the port eight ships belonging to the Sultan of the country and destined to make the voyage to Yemen. The sovereign gave orders to make preparations, and assembled people to guard his vessels. When the Sinhalese despaired of finding an opportunity of seizing them, they said, "We have only come to protect the vessels belonging to us, which also must go to Yemen."

When I entered the presence of the idolater Sultan, he rose, and made me sit by his side, and spoke to me with the greatest good-will. "Let your comrades," said he, "land in all safety, and be my guests until they leave. There is an alliance between me and the Sultan of Coromandel." Then he gave orders to have me lodged, and I remained with him for three days, in great consideration, which increased every day. He understood the Persian tongue, and much did he relish all I told him of foreign Kings and countries. I entered his presence one day when he had by him a quantity of pearls, which had been brought from the fishery in his dominions. The servants of the prince were sorting the precious from those which were not so. He said to me, "Have you seen the pearl fishery in the countries whence you have come?" "Yes," I answered, "I have seen it in the island of *Keïs*, and in that of *Kech*, which belong to *Ibn Assaouâmély*." "I have heard of them," replied he; and then took up some pearls and added, "Are there at that island any pearls equal to these?" I said, "I have seen none so good." My answer pleased him, and he said, "They are yours: do not blush," added he, "and ask of me anything you desire." I replied, "I have no other desire, since I have arrived in this island, but to visit the illustrious Foot of Adam." The people of the country call the first man *bâbâ* (*father*) and Eve, *mâmâ* (*mother*). "That is easy enough," answered he, "We shall send some one to conduct you." "That is what I wish,"

said I, and then added, "The vessel in which I have come will go in safety to *Ma'bar* and on my return, you will send me in your ships." "By all means" said he.

When I reported this to the Captain of the ship, he said, "I will not go till you have returned, even though I should have to wait a year for you." I made known this answer to the Sultan, and he said, "The Captain shall be my guest until your return." He gave me a palanquin, which his slaves bore upon their backs, and sent with me four of those *djoguis* who are accustomed to undertake the pilgrimage annually to the Foot; he added to the party three Bráhmíns, ten others of his friends, and fifteen men to carry the provisions. As for water, it is found in abundance on the route.

On the day of our departure, we encamped near a river, which we crossed in a ferry-boat formed of bamboos. Thence we took our way to *Ménâr Mendely*, a fine town, situated at the extremity of the Sultan's territory, the people of which treated us to an excellent repast. This consisted of young buffaloes, taken in chase in the neighbouring forest and brought in alive, rice, melted butter, fish, chickens and milk. We did not see in this town a single Musalmán, except a native of Khorassan, who had remained on account of sickness, and who now accompanied us. We left for *Bender Sélâouât*,\* a little town, and after quitting it we traversed some rough country, much of it under water. There were numbers of elephants there, which do no manner of harm to pilgrims, nor to strangers, and that is by the holy influence of Shaikh *Abou 'Abd Allah*, son of *Khafif*, the first who opened this way to visiting the Foot. Up to that time the infidels prevented the Musalmáns from accomplishing the pilgrimage,

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\* *Bender Sélâouât*, i.e., Chilaw.—The fact that it was called *Bender*, implies, I think, that it contained a custom-house or store-house (*V. s. p. 10*), and was a frontier town of the King who ruled south of "Aareya Chakrawarti." This is confirmed by the description of *Ménâr Mendely* as the frontier town of "Aareya Chakrawarti."

harried them, and would not eat or deal with them. But when the adventure, which we have recounted in the first part of these Voyages (*Tome II*, pp. 80, 81) had happened to the Shaikh *Abou 'Abd Allah*, that is to say, the murder of all his companions by the elephants, his own preservation, and the manner in which the elephant carried him on its back, from that time on the idolaters have respected the Musalmáns, have permitted them to enter their houses and to eat with them.\* They also place confidence in them, as regards their women and children. Even to this day they venerate in the highest degree the above-named Shaikh, and call him 'the Great Shaikh.'

Meanwhile we reached the town of *Conacâr*,† the residence

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\* "In this statement Ibn Batúta is fully borne out by Robert Knox, who says, speaking of the charity of the Singhalese, in his Chapter 'concerning their religious doctrines, opinions, and practices,' Part iii., Ch. 5, 'Nor are they charitable only to the poor of their own nation; but, as I said, to others and particularly to the Moorish beggars, who are Mahometans by religion; these have a temple in Kandy. A certain former King gave this temple this privilege—that every freeholder should contribute a ponnám (fanam, 1½d.) to it; and these Moors go to every house in the land to receive it [except in *Dolosbágé*]; and, if the house be shut, they have power to break it open, and take of goods to the value of it. They come very confidently when they beg, and say they come to fulfil the peoples' charity; and the people do liberally relieve them for charity's sake..... These Moors pilgrims have many pieces of land given to them by well disposed persons, out of charity, where they build houses and live; and this land becomes theirs from generation to generation for ever.'" (Skeen, *Adam's Peak*, p. 285.)—*B.*

† *Conacâr*—Dr. Lee identifies this place with Gampola, and he is followed by Pridham and Tennent. According to Turnour's *Epitome*, Gampola did not become the capital till after 1347, while Ibn Batúta is writing of the end of 1344. The Singhalese monarchy was then in a very troublous condition, and it is difficult to decide upon the locality of *Conacâr*.—[Skeen (*Adam's Peak*, p. 286) hesitates between Gampola and Ratnapura, the place where gems are chiefly found.] Col. Yule (*Cathay*, p. 423, Note) suggests that it was Kurunégala.

[Mr. L. Nell writes:—"Sir Emerson Tennent did not hesitate to identify this Sovereign with Bhuwanéka Báhu IV., whose capital was Gaggasripura, the modern Gampola. This identification was based on the Chronological Table of

of the principal Sovereign of the Island. It is built in a gully, between two mountains, near a great vale, called 'the vale of precious stones,'\* because gems are found in it. Outside this town is seen the Mosque of the Shaikh 'Othmân of Shirâz, surnamed *Chãoûch* (*the usher*). The King and inhabitants of the place visit him, and treat him with high consideration. He used

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Turnour; but there are two grounds to doubt this identification. In the first place Turnour admitted an anachronism about A.D. 1347, the date assumed for the accession of Bhuwanêka Báhu IV., because the terms of three reigns immediately preceding this Sovereign are not given. Secondly, the capital of *Kinâr* or *Kondâr* is described as situate in a valley between two hills in a 'vale' (or according to Lee 'bay') in which gems were found. The term *Conacâr*, sounds like an Arab attempt to reproduce the name Kurunégala. Ibn Batûta wrote in A.D. 1344; according to Turnour, Gampola did not become the capital till after A.D. 1347. We are thus thrown back to a period before the accession of Bhuvanêka Báhu IV. There is an old native route between Puttalam and Kurunégala. The route from Puttalam to Gampola direct has not been known." The correspondent already quoted notes:—"In tracing the traveller beyond Chilaw reference is necessary to Ceylon history. Incomparably the best authority for this period is the *Nikâya Sangraha*, which was composed about 1396 A.D. (Turnour states 1357 A.D., but that is manifestly wrong, as the author describes all the Kings up to Bhuvanaika Báhu V., who came to the throne 1914 A.B., showing Turnour's date to be wrong by 7 years): the corresponding portion of the *Mahâvânso* was written in 1758 A.D., and is not of anything like the same authority.

"The King of Sinhalese Ceylon in 1344 A.D. was Bhuvanaika Báhu IV. He ascended the throne 1342 A.D., and did not move the seat of Government to Gampola from Kurunégala until 1346 A.D. Consequently *Conâcar* must be (as indeed one would expect from the sound) Ibn Batûta's way of rendering Kurunégala. It lies 'between two mountains,' the Handrukkanda range and the Yakdessa range."—B.]

\* "The valley of the Mahâ-oya which is within 10 miles of Kurunégala. The word '*Manikam*' used by the traveller (Lee's version) occurs in two villages in this valley *Menik-divela* and *Menik-kaḍawara*. The valley was celebrated for precious stones (see *Kaḍaim pota*), and the latter was a place of some notoriety in the 16th century, and figures in Tennent's Portuguese map as *Manicavare*: it is near Polgahawela."—B.

to serve as a guide for those who go to see the Foot. When he had his hand and foot cut off, his sons and slaves became guides in his stead. The cause of his being so mutilated was that he killed a cow. Now the law of the Hindús ordains that one who has killed a cow should be massacred in like wise, or enclosed in its skin and burnt. The Shaikh 'Othmân being respected by those people, they contented themselves with cutting off his hand and foot, and granted to him, as a present, the dues levied at a certain market.

#### OF THE SULTAN OF CONACÂR.

He is called by the name *Conâr*,\* and possesses the white elephant. I have never seen in the world another white elephant. The King rides him on solemn occasions, and attaches to the forehead of this animal large jewels. It happened to this Monarch that the nobles of his empire rebelled against him, blinded him, and made his son King. As for him, he still lives in this town, deprived of his sight.

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\* *Conâr*—According to Turnour's list of Siphalese monarchs, the King at this time, 1344-45, would be Wijaya Báhu the Vth. Col. Yule (Cathay, p. 423 Note) thinks *Conâr* or *Kunâr* is the Sanskrit *Kunwar*, 'prince.'

[“Col. Yule's guess” adds Mr. Nell “at the name of the Sovereign ‘*Conâr*,’ as identical with ‘*Kunwar*,’ the Sanskrit for ‘Prince’, comes near what I conceive to be the fact. It will be seen that the Arab traveller describes a Mahommedan Mosque, outside the town of this Prince. Now, a Mahommedan Prince, *Vasthimi Kumârayá*, did reign with great popularity in Kurunégala. His romantic story is a local tradition in that town. He is said to have been treacherously murdered by the Buddhist priests of a temple on *Ētágala*. They invited him to be present at a religious ceremony and suddenly pushed him over the precipice [Pridham, Vol. II., p. 649]. Offerings are made upon a mound on the road to the Máligáwa, which probably marks the spot where the Prince was interred, or the Shaikh referred to hereafter. No native will venture to pass the spot after dark without company, for the spirit of *Gala-Bañðára*, on horseback, is supposed to ride about the neighbourhood. The Court is said to have been immediately removed to Dambadeniya after this assassination, on the ground that the sanctity of the city had been polluted by a Mahommedan usurper.

## OF THE PRECIOUS STONES.

The admirable gems called *albahramán* (*rubies or carbuncles*) are only found at this town. Some of them are found in the vale and these are the most precious in the eyes of the natives; others are extracted from the earth. Gems are met with in all localities in the island of Ceylon. In this country the whole of the soil is private property. An individual buys a portion of it, and digs to find gems. He comes across stones white-branched: in the interior of these stones the gem is hidden. The owner sends it to the lapidaries, who scrape it until it is separated from the stones which conceal it. There are the red (*rubies*), the yellow (*topazes*), and the blue (*sapphires*) which they call *neïlem* (*nîlem*).<sup>\*</sup> It is a rule of the natives that precious stones whose value amounts to 100 fanams are reserved for the Sultan, who gives their price and takes them for himself. As for those of an inferior price, they remain the property of the finders.<sup>†</sup> One hundred fanams are equivalent to six pieces of gold.

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It is probable that the priest, who compiled the history referred to by Turnour, has purposely omitted the name of this *Kumárayá*, thus causing the anachronism noticed by Turnour. Cásie Chetty conjectures that this Prince was the son of Wijaya Báhu V. by his Moorish Queen *Vasthimi* and this is quite consistent with the above theory. It is also stated by Ibn Batúta that the King and inhabitants of *Conacár* used to visit the Mahommedan Shaikh 'Othmán of Shiraz at his Mosque, and to treat him with great respect. It is significant that the Prince of *Conacár* is not mentioned in the French translation as 'an infidel King', as Ibn Batúta seems to be careful to do in all instances of those who were not his co-religionist. The French translation also describes this King as deposed by his subjects and deprived of his sight, whilst his son was placed on the throne. This son may have been *Vasthimi Kumárayá*. The silence of the Singhalese historians has, however, left all this in doubt."—*B.*]

<sup>\*</sup> *Neïlem* = *Ś. nîla*.

<sup>†</sup> Barbosa on the other hand says that all the Ceylon gemming is done by the agents of the King, and on his behalf. The stones are brought to him, and his lapidaries select the best, and sell the rest to the merchants (Stanley's

All the women in the island of Ceylon possess necklaces of precious stones of divers colors: they wear them also at their hands and feet, in the form of bracelets and *khalkhâls* (*anklets*). The concubines of the Sultan make a network of gems and wear it on their heads. I have seen on the forehead of the white elephant seven of these precious stones, each of which was larger than a hen's egg. I likewise saw in possession of *Airy Chacarouaty* a ruby dish, as large as the palm of the hand, containing oil of aloes. I expressed my astonishment at this dish, but the Sultan said, "We have objects of the same material larger than that."\*

We left *Conacâr*, and halted at a cave called by the name of *Ostha Mahmoud Alloûry*. This person was one of the best of men: he had excavated this cave in the mountain side, near a little vale. Quitting this place, we encamped near the vale called *Khaour bouzneh* ('*monkey vale*'). *Bouzneh* (*Persian* *boûzineh*) designates the same as *alkorôûd* (*plural of alkird*, '*monkey*') in Arabic.

### OF THE MONKEYS.

These animals are very numerous in the mountains: they are of a black colour, and have long tails. Those of the male sex have beards like men. The Shaikh '*Othmân*', his son and other persons, have related to me that the monkeys have a Chief whom they obey like a Sovereign. He binds round his head a wreath of the leaves of trees, and supports himself with a staff. Four

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Barbosa, Hakt. Soc., p. 169.) Ludovico di Varthema (A.D. 1505) says:—"And when a merchant wishes to find these jewels, he is obliged first to speak to the King, and to purchase a *braza* of the said land in every direction (which *braza* is called a *molan* [*? amunam*], and to purchase it for five ducats. And then when he digs the said land, a man always remains there on the part of the King, and if any jewel be found there which exceeds ten carats, the King claims it for himself and leaves all the rest free."—Badger's Varthema, Hakt. Soc., p. 190.

\* See further, as to the wonderful gems of that period, Marco Polo, Bk. III., Ch. xiv., and Col. Yule's note thereto.



monkeys, bearing staves, march on his right and left, and, when the chief is seated, they stand behind him. His wife and little ones come and sit before him every day. The other monkeys come and squat at some distance from him: then one of the four above-mentioned gives them the word and they withdraw; after which, each brings a banana, or a lime, or some such fruit. The King of the monkeys, his little ones, and the four chief monkeys then eat. A certain *djogui* related to me that he had seen these four monkeys before their Chief, occupied in beating another monkey with a stick, after which they plucked his hair.\*

Trustworthy persons have reported to me that when one of these monkeys has got possession of a young girl, she is unable to escape his lust. An inhabitant of the island of Ceylon has told me that he had a monkey, and when one of his daughters entered the house, the animal followed her. She cried him off, but he did her violence. "We ran to her aid," continued the speaker, "and seeing the monkey embracing her, we killed him."

Then we took our departure for 'the vale of bamboos,'† where *Abou 'Abd Allah*, son of *Khafif*, found two rubies, which he

\* "This is evidently a confused account of the Veddás and their customs. Ibn Batúta was now in their country, *Sabaragamuwa*, through which he was journeying, being, as its name imports, 'the Veddá village.'" (Skeen, *loc. cit.* p. 289). See C.A. S. Journ., Vol. VII., Pt. II., No. 24, 1881, p. 107.—B.

† "Passing through the forest, and cresting several hills that rose each higher than the one behind we came to Ali-hântenne, [Ali-hén-tēna] a tract of dense canes or *batali*, crossed in all directions by numerous elephant tracks. This was evidently one of the favourite feeding grounds of that monarch of the forest, as the name it bore plainly enough indicated. Beyond this is an extensive marsh, thickly covered with large reeds,—'the estuary of reeds' of Ibn Batúta, [Lee's version]—a swampy district, not at all pleasant to pass at any season, wet or dry, owing to the swarms of leeches that infest it; and further on is Batapola..... On the right of the path, in the upward ascent, is one of the caves which Ibn Batúta refers to in his narrative. It is formed by a straight fissure, in shape like an immense inverted V, running longitudinally through a huge boulder 40 feet in length, from 12 to 15 feet in height, and proportionally broad." (Skeen, *loc. cit.*, p. 146).—B.

presented to the Sultan of the Island, as we have related in the first part of these Voyages (*Tome II., p. 81*): then we marched to the place called ‘the house of the old woman,’\* which is at the extreme limit of the inhabited region. We left that for the cave of *Bábâ Thâhir*, who was a good man; and then for that of *Sébîc*. This *Sébîc* was one of the idolater Sovereigns, and has retired to this spot to occupy himself with the practices of devotion.†

### OF THE FLYING LEECH.

At this place we saw the flying leech, by the natives called *zoloû*. It lives upon trees and herbs in the neighbourhood of water, and when a man approaches, it pounces upon him. Whatever be the part of the body upon which the leech falls, it draws therefrom much blood. The natives take care to have ready in that case a lime, the juice of which they express over

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\* “A steep and rough ascent, for a considerable distance from Batâpola, —midway in which a stone tumulus has been erected on the spot where the remains of an old priest were burned—brings the pilgrim to Palâbaddala, ‘the house of the old woman,’ according to Ibn Batûta, and ‘the farthest inhabited part of the island of Ceylon’ [Lee’s version], that is, when he travelled through it, about five hundred and thirty years ago. \* \* \* \*

“The following legend is connected with the place, and accounts for its name:—Long, long ago, a very poor woman was desirous of performing the pilgrimage to the *Şri-pâda*, but, owing to her extreme poverty, could take nothing with her except some common jungle leaves, which in times of distress the natives occasionally resort to for food; these she boiled, and rolled up in a plaintain leaf; and having arrived thus far, when about to partake of her food, she found the boiled leaves had been miraculously turned into rice. Thenceforward it was called *Palâ-bat-dola*, ‘the place [rill] of rice and vegetables,’ a name which it has ever since retained.” (Skeen, *loc. cit.* p. 147, 154-5.)—*B.*

† “An ascent of some fifty feet brings the pilgrim to the crest of the ridge of which the *Dharmma-râja-gala* forms a part. On the other side there is a rapid descent of some hundred and twenty feet, to the *Gangula-héna-ella*, midway to which is the *Telihilena*, a rocky cave, where tradition says an ancient King (? King *Sîbak*), who had forsaken his throne for an ascetic life, took up his abode.” (Skeen, *loc. cit.*, pp. 176-7.)—*B.*

the worm, and this detaches it from the body: they scrape the place with a wooden knife made for the purpose. It is said that a certain pilgrim was passing this neighbourhood, and that the leeches fastened upon him. He remained impassive, and did not squeeze lime-juice upon them: and so all his blood was sucked and he died.\* The name of this man was *Bâbâ Khoûzy*, and there is there a cave which bears his name. From this place we took our way to 'the seven caves,' then to 'the hill of Iskandar' (*Alexander*). There is there a grotto called of *Alisfahâny*, a spring of water, and an uninhabited mansion, beneath which is the bay called 'the place of bathing of the contemplative.' At the same place is seen 'the orange cave' and 'the cave of the Sultan.' Near the latter is the gateway (*derwâzeh* in *Persian*, *bâb* in *Arabic*) of the mountain.†

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\* Dr. Lee has this note :—"Knox describes these leeches as being rather troublesome than dangerous. His words are :—'There is a sort of leaches of the nature of ours, onely differing in colour and bigness; for they are of a dark reddish colour like the skin of bacon, and as big as a goose-quill; in length some two or three inches. At first, when they are young, they are no bigger than a horse-hair, so that they can scarce be seen. In dry weather none of them appear, but immediately upon the fall of rains, the grass and woods are full of them. These leaches seize upon the legs of travellers.....Some, therefore, will tie a piece of *lemon* and salt in a rag, and fasten it unto a stick, and ever and anon strike it upon their legs to make the leaches drop off: others will scrape them off with a *reed, cut flat and sharp in the fashion of a knife,*' &c.—Ceylon, p. 25. See also the addition by Philalethes, p. 264." [*Zolou* = ? *S. kudella*.—B.]

† "We had observed the preceding day, that from some place below the station [*Heramitipána*] on the side on which we entered it, coming from *Palâbaddala*, the pilgrims brought up their supplies of water; and on returning from the Peak, in going down towards the *Sita-gangula*, we saw a descent to our left, which mistaking for the proper path, one of us went partially down before he discovered his error. About fifty or sixty feet below, he saw a clearing in a small dell, in the centre of which was a square kind of tank; and this dell he determined to examine on the occasion of his third visit. The result of the examination was, that he identified the station *Heramitipána*, and this place, as that described by Ibn Batûta, as 'the ridge of Alexander, in which

## OF THE MOUNTAIN OF SERENDIB (ADAM'S PEAK).

It is one of the highest mountains in the world : we saw it from the open sea, when we were distant from it upwards of nine days' march. While we were making the ascent, we saw the clouds above us, hiding from view the lower parts of it. There are upon this mountain many trees of kinds which do not cast their leaves, flowers of divers colors, and a red rose as large as the palm of the hand.\* It is alleged that on this rose is an inscription in which one may read the name of God Most High and that of his Prophet.† On the mountain are two paths leading to the Foot of Adam. The one is known by the name of

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is a cave and a well of water,' at the entrance to the mountain Serendib. The old Moor's account is somewhat confused, his notes or recollections not always carrying his facts exactly in their due order ; but half way down the descent, on the left hand, is a well, excavated in the rock, in which we found about five feet of water, and which swarmed with tadpoles. Possibly Ibn Batúta found it in the same condition, for he speaks of the well, at the entrance, full of fish, of which 'no one takes any.' At the bottom of the dell is a cleared space ; in the centre of this is a square tank or well, the sides of which are formed of blocks of stone, six or eight feet long. Beyond this, almost facing the descent, some twenty feet up the opposite mountain's side, is a cave. To this my companion and I forced our way through the jungle, and came to the conclusion that this was the cave of Khíizr, where, Ibn Batúta says, 'the pilgrims leave their provisions, and whatever else they have, and then ascend about two miles to the top of the mountain, to the place of (Adam's) foot.' In the preceding sentence he says, 'Near this (cave) and on each side of the path, is a cistern cut in the rock.' Now, no other place that we saw, or heard of—and we were particularly minute in our inquiries—answers to such a description. There are the two wells, and the cave ; and the distance to the foot-print is also pretty fairly estimated." (Skeen, *loc. cit.*, pp. 226-7.)—B.

\* "Gigantic rhododendrons overhang the wall on the eastern side of the Peak. Their bending trunks seem, to the Buddhist mind, to bow to the foot-print ; and to offer, in homage and adoration, their wealth of crowning crimson flowers to the pedal impress of the founder of their faith." (Skeen, *loc. cit.*, p. 200.)—B.

† The pious Musalmáns in this age of faith found their creed proclaimed by nature itself not only on the flowers of the rhododendron, but on the leaves

‘the Father’s path’ and the other by that of ‘the Mother’s path. By these terms are Adam and Eve designated. The Mother’s route is an easy one, and by it the pilgrims return; but any one who took it for the ascent would be regarded as not having done the pilgrimage. The Father’s path is rough and difficult of ascent. At the foot of the mountain, at the place of the gateway, is a grotto also bearing the name of Iskandar, and a spring of water.

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of the fig-tree. Before he went to the Máldives, Ibn Batúta was at *Deh Fattan* (? Dévipatam), a town on the Malabar Coast, where he records the existence of an extraordinary tree near the mosque. “I saw that the mosque was situated, near a verdant and beautiful tree; whose leaves resembled those of the fig, except that they were glossy. It was surrounded by a wall and had near it a niche or oratory, where I made a prayer of two genuflexions. The name of this tree with the natives of the country was *derakht* (dirakht) *acchéhâdah* ‘the tree of the testimony.’ I was informed at this place that every year, on the arrival of autumn, there fell from this tree a solitary leaf, whose colour passed first to yellow and then to red. On this leaf were written, with the pen of the Divine power, the words following ‘There is no God but God, and Mohammed is the apostle of God.’ The juris-consult *Houçain* and many other trustworthy men told me that they had seen this leaf, and had read the inscription upon it. *Houçain* added that, when the time arrived for it to fall, trusted men from among the Musalmáns and the idolaters sat down under the tree. When the leaf fell the Musalmáns took one half of it, while the other was deposited in the treasury of the idolater Sultan. The inhabitants preserve it for the purpose of curing the sick. This tree caused the conversion of the grandfather of *Coucil* [the Sultan at the time of his visit] to the faith, and he it was who built the mosque and the tank [from its description similar to the Siphalese *pokuna*]. This prince could read the Arabic characters: and when he deciphered the inscription and understood what it contained, he embraced the true faith and professed it entirely. His story is preserved in tradition among the Hindús. The juris-consult *Houçain* told me that one of the children of this King returned to idolatry after the death of his father, governed with injustice, and ordered the tree to be torn up from the roots. The order was executed, and no vestige of the tree was left. Nevertheless it began to shoot again, and became as fair a tree as it had been before. As for the idolater, he came to die full soon thereafter.” (Tome IV., pp. 85-87.) I have quoted this passage

The people of old have cut in the rock steps of a kind, by help of which you ascend; fixed into them are iron stanchions, to which are suspended chains, so that one making the ascent can hold on to them.\* These chains are ten in number, thus:—two at the foot of the mountain [Peak] at the place of the gate-way; seven in contiguity after the two first; and the tenth, that is ‘the chain of the profession of faith (*Islám*),’ so named because a person who has reached it and looks back at the foot of the mountain will be seized with hallucinations, and, for fear of falling, he will recite the words “I bear witness that there is no God but God, and that Muhammad is his prophet.” When you have passed this chain, you will find a path badly kept. From the tenth chain to ‘the cave of *Khidhr*’† is seven miles. This cave is situate at an open place, and it has near it a spring of water full of fish, and this also bears the name of *Khidhr*. No one may catch these fish. Near the cave are two basins cut in the rock, one on each

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at length as an illustration of the habit of missionary religions to annex and adapt the shrines and idols of local worship. The fig-tree in question was, I have little doubt, a *bó* tree, surrounded by a wall and altars like the *Mahá Vihárá* at Anurádhapura. It is likely to have been credited with healing powers, and so to have preserved its influence in the locality from the decay of Buddhism in Malabar, through the centuries of Bráhmañish reaction, until at length the followers of the Prophet contrived by means of the fancied inscription to control the superstitious faith of its devotees. The similar attempt of the Muhammadans to annex the *Śrī-páda* of Samanala, by claiming it as the foot-print of Adam, has done nothing towards the conversion of the Singhalese. The Hindús claim it as that of *Síva* or *Vishṇu*, according to their sect. (Skeen’s *Adam’s Peak*, p. 27.)

\* These chains are spoken of by Marco Polo in the previous century. “Furthermore you must know that on this Island of Seilan there is an exceeding high mountain; it rises right up so steep and precipitous that no one could ascend it, were it not that they have taken and fixed to it several great massive iron chains, so disposed that by help of these men are able to mount to the top.”—Yule, *Marco Polo*, Vol. II., p. 256.

† See, as to the identity of this saint or prophet, Dr. Lee’s note, and Sell, ‘Faith of Islám,’ p. 260.—*B.*

side of the path. In the grotto of *Khidhr* the pilgrims leave their belongings; thence they mount two miles further to the summit, where is the Foot.

#### DESCRIPTION OF THE FOOT.

The impression of the noble Foot, that of our father Adam, is observed in a black and lofty rock, in an open space. The Foot is sunk in the stone, in such wise that its site is quite depressed; its length is eleven spans.\* The inhabitants of China came here formerly; they have cut out of the stone the mark of the great toe, and of that next to it, and have deposited this fragment in a temple of the town of *Zeitoûn* (*Tseu-thoung*) whither men repair from the most distant provinces.† In the rock whereon is the print of the foot, are cut nine holes, in which the idolater pilgrims place gold, precious stones and pearls. You may see the fakírs, arrived from ‘the grotto of *Khidhr*’ seeking to get ahead of one another, and so to get what may be in these holes. In our case we found there only some little stones, and a

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\* Dr. Marshall, who in 1819 ascended the Peak with Mr. S. Sawers, says the foot is 5 ft. 6 in. in length. Tennent says it is “about 5 feet long, and of proportionate breadth” (Vol. II. p. 140), Knox (p. 3) says “about two feet long,” but he never saw it. Ribeyro, Liv. i., C. xxiii., says, “two palms long and eight inches broad.” See further Yule’s *Marco Polo*, Vol. II., p. 261. Lieut. Malcolm, the first Englishman who made the ascent, (1815), says the impression is in kabook or ironstone. [“The heel is much higher than the toes, and the artificiality of the whole is palpable. A thick raised edging of cement marks the rude outline of a foot 5 ft. 7 in. long, and 2 ft. 7 in. broad at the point where the heel begins to curve. The interstices between the toes are also formed of cement, and the whole of the markings of the foot every now and again need repair. The inner portion of the heel and instep are the only parts that are clearly natural [gneiss] rock, (Skeen, *loc. cit.*, p. 203.)—B.]

† Marco Polo says that an embassy was sent by the great Khan in 1284 while he himself was in China, to obtain relics of our father Adam. They obtained a couple of teeth, some hair, and a dish of prophyry used by our first parent. He does not mention that they brought a piece of the rock from the foot-print,—Yule’s *Marco Polo*, Vol. II., p. 259.

little gold which we gave to our guide. It is customary for pilgrims to pass three days in 'the cave of *Khidhr*,' and during this time to visit the Foot morning and evening : and so did we.

When the three days had elapsed, we returned by way of the Mother's path, and encamped hard by the grotto of *Cheim*, who is the same as *Cheith* (*Seth*) son of Adam. We halted in succession near 'the bay of fish,' the straggling villages of *Cormolah*, *Djeber-câouân*, *Dildînéoueh* and *Atkalendjeh*.\* It was in the last named place that the Shaikh *Abou 'Abd Allah*, son of *Khafif* passed the winter. All these villages and stations are on the mountain. Near the base, on the same path, is the *dérakht* (*dirakht*) *rewân* 'the walking tree,' a tree of great age, not one of whose leaves falls. It is called by the name of *mâchîah* (*walking*) because a person looking at it from above the mountain considers it fixed a long distance off, and near the foot of the hill; while one who regards it from beneath, believes it to be in quite the opposite direction. I have seen at this place a band

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\* [The correspondent before quoted writes :—"I fear the route taken by the traveller after leaving Kurunégala must always be a matter of conjecture. I have given it some attention and I think it most probable that he went from Kurunégala towards the mountains and ascended Adam's Peak from the pilgrim's path in Maskeliya. My reasons are—

(i.) The extreme limit of the inhabited region was evidently a long way from the Peak—this would be true on the Maskeliya side, but not true in the low country, as there were villages comparatively near the Peak.

(ii.) From the traveller's description he evidently went into the mountains soon after leaving Kurunégala.

(iii.) The names of places described are found on this route, and on no other.

(iv.) The traveller describes two routes as practicable. The 'father's path' as rough and difficult, the 'mother's path' as easy and the way of return. He went by the former, which is evidently the way through the hills and the forest of Maskeliya.

The most convenient pass from Kurunégala to the mountains runs past Garihagama, and there is a cave in the mountain side near a little vale (exactly as described) which still retains the name *Galagedara* ('cave abode').



of *djoguis*, who did not leave the foot of the hill, waiting for the fall of the leaves of this tree. It is planted in a place where there is no possibility of getting at it. The idolaters retail some fictions concerning it; among them, this—whoever eats of its leaves recovers his youth, even should he be an old man. But that is false.

Under this mountain is a great vale where precious stones are found. Its waters appears to the eye extremely blue. From this we marched for two days as far as the town of *Dînéwer*, a large one, built near the sea and inhabited by merchants.\* In a vast temple is seen an idol bearing the same name as the town. In this temple are upwards of a thousand Bráhmîns and *djoguis*,

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'Monkey vale' I cannot identify; there is a place in Dołosbágé called *Wanduru-mána* ('monkey measure').

'The vale of bamboos (or reeds)' I should guess to be *Rambukpitiya* in Upper Bulatgama; it is of some antiquity and importance, and lies right on the road to Adam's Peak.

The spot where 'Abú Abd-Allah found his two rubies is probably even yet to be identified by the name *Menik-hambantota* ('the gem ford of the foreign trader') on the pilgrim's route. 'The house of the old woman' (*A 'chchi-gedara*?) has probably not survived till our time. The rest of the route lay through 'the wilderness of the Peak,' containing no inhabitants but hermits. The Royal hermit called *Sévik* I should guess to be 'Raja Savlu (or Sakra) Vije Bahu,' afterwards father of the Śrî-Parákrama Báhu VI. (Valentyn, p. 71, and Kavya-sékara, 89.) Of the straggling villages mentioned as halting places on the journey to Dondra, *Cormolah* is probably Gilimalé; *Dildinéoue* may be either Dinawaka or a Deldeniya; and *Atkalandjeh* is certainly the Atakalan Kóralé, the last district 'on the mountain' (i.e., Kanda-uḍa or in the Uḍa-raṭa).

"The pass would probably be that traversed on the road from *Dápané* to *U'rubokka*, which is the beginning of 'the great vale [leading to Mátara] where precious stones are found. Its waters appear to the eye extremely blue'—of course the reference is to the *Nihvalá-gaṅga* ('blue-cloud-river')—and precious stones are still found there in some quantity (Cf. Pybus' Journey to Kandy, p. 22). *Dinewer* is of course Déwi-nuwara, and *Kály*, Galle."—B.]

\* *Dinéwer*:—Dondra. This magnificent shrine of Vishṇu was pillaged and destroyed by the Portuguese under Thomé de Souza d'Arronches in 1587. (De Couto, Dec. x., C. xv.)—Tennent 'Ceylon,' Vol. II., p. 113-4.

and about five hundred women, born of idolater fathers, who sing and dance every night before the statue. The town and its revenues are the private property of the idol; all who live in the temple and those who visit it are supported therefrom. The statue is of gold and of the size of a man. In place of eyes, it has two large rubies, and I was told that they shone by night like two lamps.

We took our departure for the town of *Kály*,\* a small one, six parasangs from *Dinéwer*. A Musalmán there, called the Ship-Captain *Ibráhm*, entertained us at his house. We then took the route for the town of *Calenbou* (*Colombo*) one of the largest and most beautiful in the island of *Sérendib*. There dwells the Vizier, prince of the sea, *Djálesty*,† who has there about 500 Abyssinians. Three days after leaving *Calenbou*, we arrived at *Batthálah*, of which mention is made above. We visited the Sultan of whom I have spoken. I found the Captain *Ibráhm* awaiting me, and we left for the country of *Ma'bar*.

[Ibn Batúta and his friends met with tempestuous weather, and were wrecked on the Coast of Coromandel, probably near the mouth of the Patar. He and his party, consisting of two concubines, some companions and slaves, were conducted to Arcot, and thence two days journey to the Sultan, who was engaged in an expedition against the infidels. This was the Sultan

\* *Kály* :—Galle. Six parasangs will be a little over 30 miles. The exact distance is 31·38 miles.

† *Djálesty* :—This appears to be the same Prince described by the traveller John de Marignolli who was driven upon the coast of Ceylon on the 3rd May (probably) 1350. He landed at Perivilis (? Barberyne) "over against Paradise. Here a certain tyrant, by name *Coya Jaan*, a eunuch, had the mastery in opposition to the lawful king. He was an accursed Saracen, who, by means of his great treasures, had gained possession of the greater part of the kingdom." This person "in the politest manner" robbed him of the valuable gifts he was carrying home to the Pope, and detained him four months.—Yule's 'Cathay,' p. 357.

*Ghiyâth eddîn*, whose wife was a sister of a woman Ibn Batúta had married at Delhi: he is therefore above called his brother-in-law. Ibn Batúta was hospitably entertained, and he thus continues:—]

I had an interview with the Sultan and proposed the subject of the Máldives, and the sending of an army to the islands. He formed a resolve to accomplish this object, and appointed the ships for the purpose. He arranged a present for the Queen of Máldives, robes of honor, and gifts for the Emirs and Viziers. He entrusted to me the care of securing a marriage for him with the sister of the Queen; and lastly, he ordered three ships to be loaded with alms for the poor of the islands, and said to me, “You will get back in five days.” The Admiral *Khodjah Serlec* said to him, “It will not be possible to go to the Máldives until three months from this moment.” The Sultan went on to address me, “Since that is so, come to *Fattan*, so that we may finish this expedition and return to our capital at *Moutrah (Madura)*: you will set out from there.” I then remained with him, and as we waited I sent for my concubines and my comrades.

[*Ghiyâth eddîn* won a great victory over the infidels and returned with Ibn Batúta to *Fattan* (? Dévipatam) a large seaport town, and thence to Madura. At *Fattan* the Sultan told the Admiral to cease preparing the vessels for the Máldive expedition. He was then suffering from an illness, and shortly afterward died at a place near Madura. He left no son, and his nephew, *Nássir eddîn*, whom Ibn Batúta had known as a domestic servant at Delhi, was accepted by the army, and reigned in his stead:—]

He [*Nássir eddîn*] ordered that I should be provided with all the ships which his uncle had assigned to take me to the Máldives. But I was attacked with fever, which is mortal at this place. I imagined that I was about to die. God inspired me to have recourse to the tamarind, which is very abundant in that country: I took about a pound and put it in water. I then

drank the beverage, and that relieved me in three days, and God healed me. I took a disgust for the town of *Moutrah*, and requested the Sultan's permission to take a voyage. He said, "Where would you go? There remains only a month ere you start for the Máldives. Remain here and we shall give you all the equipment ordered by the master of the world (*the deceased Sultan*)."<sup>\*</sup> I declined, and he wrote an order in my favor to *Fattan*, that I should be allowed to depart in any vessel I would. I returned to that town, and there found eight vessels setting sail for Yemen, and in one of them I embarked.

[Ibn Batúta left this ship at *Caoulem* (*Quilon*) on the Malabar Coast, and there remained for three months. He then embarked in another, which was attacked by the pirates near *Hinaour* (*Honore*), and the traveller lost all his property, including the pearls and precious stones presented to him by the Ceylon King, and all his clothes:—]

I returned to Calicut and entered one of the Mosques. A lawyer sent me a suit of clothes; the Kâzi, a turban; and a merchant, another coat. I was here informed of the marriage of the Vizier '*Abd Allah*' with the Queen *Khadîdjah*, after the death of the Vizier *Djémâl eddîn*, and I heard that my wife, whom I had left *enceinte*, was delivered of a male child. It came into my heart to go back to the Máldives, but I feared the enmity which existed between me and the Vizier '*Abd Allah*'. In consequence, I opened the Kurán, and these words appeared before me, "The angels shall descend unto them, and shall say, 'Fear not, neither be ye grieved.'" (*Kurán*, *Sur. xii.*, 30.) I implored the benediction of God, took my departure, and arrived in ten days at the Máldives, and landed at the island of *Cannaloûs*. The Governor of this island, '*Abd al 'Azîz Almakdachâouy*', welcomed me with respect, entertained me, and got a barque ready. I arrived in due course at *Hololy*,<sup>\*</sup> an island to which the Queen and her sisters

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<sup>\*</sup> *Hololy* :—Probably *Oluveli* island in North Mále Atol.—B.

resort for their diversion and for bathing. The natives term these amusements *tetdjer*,\* and they then have games on board the vessels. The Vizier and chiefs send offerings to the Queen of such things as are found in the island. I met there the Queen's sister, wife of the preacher *Mohammed*, son of *Djemál eddín*, and his mother, who had been my wife. The preacher visited me, and he was served with food.

Meanwhile some of the inhabitants went across to the Vizier 'Abd Allah and announced my arrival. He put some questions about me and the persons who had come with me, and was informed that I had come to take my son, who was now about two years old. The mother presented herself before the Vizier to complain of me, but he told her, "I will not prevent him taking away his son." He pressed me to go to the island (*Mahal*), and lodged me in a house built opposite the tower of his Palace, in order that he might be aware of my estate. He sent me a complete suit of clothes, betel, and rose-water, according to custom. I took to him two pieces of silk to throw down at the moment of saluting him. These were received from me, with the intimation that the Vizier would not come out to receive me that day. My son was brought to me, and it seemed to me that a sojourn among the islanders was what was best for him. I, therefore, sent him back, and remained five days in the island. I thought it best to hasten my departure, and asked the usual permission. The Vizier sent for me and I repaired to his presence. They brought to me the two pieces of stuff they had previously taken from me, and I cast them before the Vizier and saluted him in the customary way. He made me sit by his side and questioned me of my condition. I ate in his company and washed my hands in the same basin with him, which thing he does with no one. Then betel was brought and I came away. The Vizier sent me

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\* *Tetdjer* :—Cf. *M. kuli-jahan* 'sports.'—*B.*

cloths and *bostóts* of cowries, and conducted himself towards me in the most perfect way. I took my departure and after a voyage of forty-three days we arrived at Bengal.

[The son of Ibn Batúta here spoken of was probably born before the close of 1344. The traveller therefore took his final departure from the Máldives about the close of the year 1346.]

5 FEB 1887



# PROCEEDINGS

1881.







# PROCEEDINGS

1882.









5. 1904

Appendix to Vol. 1

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ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

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CEYLON BRANCH.

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THE VEDDÁS OF CEYLON.

*(An abridgement of the Monograph communicated  
by Professor Virchow.)*

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"TIMES OF CEYLON" PRESS.





# THE VEDDÁS OF CEYLON.

(An abridgement of the monograph by Professor Virchow.)

*Object of the Paper.*—In the various mixture of races inhabiting Ceylon, the Veddás have, for a long time, been an object of special prominence in the study of ethnography, because there is much room for conjecture that in them is preserved a remnant of the aboriginal inhabitants of the island. And now, when, according to all accounts, their number is so rapidly diminishing that, at no very distant date, their last members will have disappeared from among the living, a peculiar interest is added to their study, and it is desirable to transmit to posterity a trustworthy picture of their singular characteristics. For this purpose the material we now have is nowise sufficient; hence the object of the following disquisition is not merely to collect what has been already ascertained, but to point out the gaps which can be supplied only by further local researches. It is to be hoped that this may stimulate to the immediate application of all possible means to obtain the wanting material.

*The Veddá Land.*—The Veddás have dwelt, at least for some centuries, in the vast forests on the south-east side of the island, between the mountains and the sea, and especially in the wild tracts of land called the Veddá-raṭa of Bintenne and the Mahá-veddā-raṭa of Uva. The more savage remnant of the tribe live in the beautiful province of Nilgalla and in the forests of Bintenne. There is much evidence, however, that in times not very far distant the Veddás were scattered over a much larger extent of country, which reached much further northward, and their earlier presence in the south and even south-west is also proved <sup>(1)</sup>. They are indeed spoken of as having formerly inhabited the districts between Adam's Peak and the Raygam

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(1) *Knox*. Historical relation of the island of Ceylon, 1817, p. 9, 122.  
*Percival*. Description of the island of Ceylon, translated by Bergk.  
p. 337.

*Bailey*. Transac. Ethnol. Soc. Lon. 1863, New Ser. Vol. ii. p. 313 note.

and Pasdum Korales on the west coast, south of Colombo, and are conjectured to have given its former name to Saffragam. (*Habaragamuwa*: *Habara*=*Barbarians*.)

The present Veddá-land is very lovely, embracing a comparatively flat, wooded country, nowhere raised more than 200 feet above the level of the sea, and frequently having the appearance of a park. The character of the soil varies: damp and unwholesome marshes alternate with rock-ribbed hills which stud the country between the central mountains and the sea coast. Here the Veddás live in perfect isolation even from their more civilized tribal brethren, without fixed abodes, but yet upon their own recognized lands, mostly in small groups or simply in families. Rarely do they venture beyond their own boundaries, and then only for the purposes of exchanging honey, wax, skins, or venison for iron, axes, arrow-points, etc.

*Their Numbers.*—This secluded existence explains why the estimates of their numbers vary so greatly. No recent estimate leads us to conclude that the total exceeds 1,500, and the extinction of the tribe seems imminent, though wherefore we are unable to discover.

*Village and Forest Veddás.*—From the time of Knox they have been classed in two groups, a “tamer sort” or “village Veddás,” and a “wilder” or “forest Veddás.” All observers, however, agree that both belong to the same race. Hence, for the study of their physical condition, the two groups may without hesitation be united; but for the observation of their social and psychical conditions we must hold them strictly apart. In the latter respect only the forest, or jungle Veddás, are of any interest to us. These, therefore, will be mainly spoken of here; nevertheless we may not venture quite to set aside the village Veddás, since their actual settlement and civilization have succeeded only very imperfectly as yet.

*Attempts at their Culture—Yakkho Worship.*—All attempts to bring the Veddás into fixed abodes and to raise them to a higher culture have suffered shipwreck in far greater measure than the efforts to civilize the Australians. Whether they actually have any conceptions of God, or God-like beings, is, to



say the least, very doubtful. The only thing that is proved is a lower kind of Demon or Yakkho worship among them, which here and there assumes the form of a worship of ancestors. Mr. Bailey tells us that those in Bintenne had mourned and buried their dead for a longtime, but that the more barbarous inhabitants of Nilgalla had only just begun to do so. Formerly they threw their dead into the jungle, or left them where they had died ; after covering the body with leaves, they laid a heavy stone upon the breast and sought out for themselves another cavern, giving up the one where death had entered to the spirit of the departed. These spirits,—now become Yakkhos—watch over the welfare of those left behind ; come to their relations when they are ill ; visit them in dreams ; and grant them flesh on the chase. They are invoked with dance and song around an upright arrow. Sometimes while preparing for the chase the spirit is promised a piece of the flesh of the slain animal ; at other times they cook something and put it in the dry bed of a river or other obscure place, invoke the souls of the departed, dance round the food, and perform their incantations.\* Mr. Hartshorne describes these sacrificial feasts. While invoking the departed spirit they roast the flesh of the *wandura*, monkey, or *talagoya* (iguana) with honey and edible roots, and then distribute it among those present, who eat it on the spot.

*Yakko and Naga-worshipping communities in early times.*—This word “Yakkho” (Yakko) designates, according to Turnour, a kind of demon ; though the demon-worshippers are also called Yakkhos and Yakkhinis. He derives it from the root *Yága*, to bring offerings. This word has, for a long time, justly excited the attention of scientists, since in the great historical work of Ceylon—the *Maháwanso*—the earliest inhabitants of the island

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\* [In respect to these beliefs and customs—apparently put forward as illustrations of barbarism—do we, the most civilized, not also seem in *our* dreams to see those who have occupied our thoughts when alive, and still occupy our affections when gone ; and who has not at least wished, or hoped, if not prayed for the countenance, the approval, even the *aid* in our needs, of venerated ones passed from hence ? Do not the vastest number of Christians pray to and invoke the dead, not to speak of sacrifices and vows and offerings to them ? Is the difference so great at bottom between the ideas of the Veddás on these heads and those of Augustan Rome or Modern Europe ?—*T. B.*]

are called by that name. When Wijeya, the founder of the first known Ceylon dynasty, in the year of Gautama Buddha's death, 543 B. C., landed in the island, he found an already organized Yakkho state; and indeed it is said of Gautama Buddha himself that he came to Lanka, "a settlement of the Yakkhos." It is hardly allowable to conclude from this, with Sir Emerson Tennent and others, that these were identical with the Veddás, and that up to the time of Wijeya an aboriginal homogeneous race inhabited the island, though it may not be a mistake to assume that in the earliest period almost the entire population were devoted to this Yakkho-worship as it now exists amongst the Veddás. The identification of the Veddás with those Yakkhos would require us to assume such a deep physical and intellectual degeneration of the present Veddás from the old Yakkho times as would be without parallel in history, as well as in ethnology, and such as the author cannot bring himself to admit. Not a single fact sustains the conjecture that Wijeya, with his followers from the valley of the Ganges, was the first stranger who came to Ceylon. On the contrary, the legend of the advent of Gautama Buddha, and, no less, the old traditions of the Rámayana, clearly point to earlier arrivals and invasions, and if Wijeya found some kind of political organization on the island, the time in which the whole north of the island was Veddá-land must then be placed a good deal further back. The first visit of Gautama Buddha to the island was, according to the Maháwanso, in Mahiyangana, near Bintenne. According to the Yakkhos, in whose midst the Buddha here appeared, he visited on a second occasion Nâgadipo, the abode of the Nâgas, or snake-worshippers, which is generally assumed to be the name for the north and west of the island; at any rate mention is made of Nâgas living by the ocean as well as mountain Nâgas, and a Nâga King of Kalyani, in the neighbourhood of Colombo, is spoken of. If any importance is to be attached to these traditions, a number of tribes, or at least a division of the original population, must be inferred. And it is not without value that the description of the Nâga States, in these most ancient myths, disclose to us a much more perfect organization than we find any account of in the tales of the Yakkhos.

Nevertheless, we must renounce the idea of using these myths as the basis for ethnological contemplation and for building up a highly developed Veddá-state in prehistoric times.

*Veddás nomadic hunters.*—Up to a very recent date the Veddás have been a nomadic, half cave-inhabiting race of hunters, each small family group having its special vaguely-defined hunting ground, comprising a proportionately vast tract of woodland. Of any kind of culture, garden or farm, there was no trace. They had no domestic animal save the dog, of a species identical with that common in Ceylon, and apparently trained not for hunting but for watching. Their hunting implements are the simplest possible, consisting of a strong bow 6 feet long, and two or three arrows of  $3\frac{1}{2}$  feet, having points of wrought iron, not made by themselves but obtained by barter for honey and wax. Besides these they have only an iron axe, or sometimes two (a larger and a smaller) obtained in the same way. Mr. Hartshorne rightly finds in their word for axe a reminiscence of an earlier period when stone weapons were in use among them, and for which it might be a not unprofitable task to explore the caverns in which, according to Mr. Bailey, bones of the dead are still to be found. They subsist almost wholly on animal food, excluding the flesh of cattle, the elephant, bear, leopard, jackal, and fowls. Their food is cooked, but very roughly, as they have no clay or earthen vessels. They have no special stimulants, and neither betel nor tobacco, but chew a kind of bark. Their only drink is water. Mr. Hartshorne says that even salt was unknown to them, but that when it was given to them they were much delighted with it. Only in occasional places where European influence is perceptible do we find a rude kind of agriculture in the form of little strips of chena cultivation. With this exception, which really cannot be taken into account, their whole existence depends on the product of the chase; and there is nothing to speak of which indicates that anywhere or at any time they have risen above the condition of a savage tribe of hunters. Indeed, they have never arrived at even the very crudest form of permanent dwelling places; and, although they sheltered themselves from the inclemency of the weather in natural caverns, or in simple huts made of branches of trees

and bark, they seem never to have made these their settled abodes. On the contrary, perpetual change of place within their hunting grounds has been ever the rule.\*

*Influence of their mode of life on their Psychological Condition.*—Hence their social intercourse is essentially limited to their next of kin, whose number is often very small, consisting of only four or five persons, and all stimulant to higher acquisitions and enjoyments and need for sustained mental effort is, therefore, wanting.

*Their Peaceable Character.*—In character they are peaceable among themselves, and toward strangers so long as they are unmolested. They respect the rights of property, and are true and truth-loving.

*Dress and ornaments.*—Both sexes go almost naked. In former times they wore pieces of bark from the *riti* tree (a species of *Anticaris*) ; which were later replaced by little bits of cloth held round the body by a string. The women wore round iron pegs stuck through their ears. Mr. Hartshorne, however, saw ornaments worn in the ears by both sexes, generally pearls, or, what seemed peculiarly admired, empty cartridge boxes. Evidently these are quite modern innovations.

*Marriage relations.*—It is a custom with them to marry with a younger sister—a practice in use among the royal families of the Siphalese from the time of Wijeya. The only marriage ceremony consists in the suitor's bringing food for the parents.

*Emotional expression.*—There seems to be no particular depth of feeling among them. All the descriptions indicate rather a certain morose indolence. Whilst they can help it they not only do not laugh themselves, but they despise those who do. Mr. Hartshorne says of them that they are incapable of laughing. This, if it be true, is a peculiarity which, so far as the author knows, has not been told of any other race of people, and has only appeared among certain idiots.†

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\* [And a necessity of their life, as hunters depending on game for their subsistence.—*T. B.*]

† [It seems impossible to deny the existence of emotions, and of the outward physical expression of these, to any vertebrated animals at

*Intellectual capacity.*—In point of intellect they seem indeed to stand very low. If they have any notion of numbers, or can count at all, it is to the most limited extent, probably not beyond five. It is said that they have no word for color, nor any perception of differences of color; that their memory is defective; and that they are incapable of forming any general ideas. Sir Emerson Tennent says they have no notion [perhaps it would be more correct to say only a very limited and vague notion] of time or space; no words for hours, days or years;\* no games, no amusements,† no music.‡ These statements, however, apply in their full breadth only to the “wild sort,” for Davy says of the village Veddās that they have a rough kind of song performed as an accompaniment to a clumsily executed dance. Granting some of the observations furnished to be too exclusive, still we are compelled to acknowledge the inferiority of the race.

*Caste.*—As they have no distinction of caste it is a very striking fact that they not only look upon themselves as superior to their neighbours but are looked upon by them as members of a high and even of a royal caste. The Sinhalese term for the agricultural caste is Goyi-wap̄se, the Malabar term Wellala; to this caste they are said by writers to belong; and those of Bintenne are said to call themselves Veddā-Vellalas.

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least. However low the sensibilities, pain and pleasure must equally be experienced, and be visibly manifested in the absence of some physical defect, and their deliberate suppression or control would seem to argue a degree of intellectual and moral strength which no one has given the Veddās the credit of possessing. Possibly, a low emotional excitability has been confounded with incapacity.—*T. B.*]

\* [But the ordinary Sinhalese cultivator is singularly poor and vague in the observation and notation of time and space, though he does measure the day by the length of the shadow in feet, and the height of the sun by comparison with the height of a cocoanut tree. Is it quite certain the Veddās do not the same? Mr. Hartshorne's assertion has, however, been disproved, as appears in Russels' Account of the Prince of Wales' visit to India.—*T. B.*]

† [If their children do not gambol, if their men and women have no enjoyments, their life must be stagnant indeed and far below the level of the beasts in their forests. But who can believe this?]

‡ [Also incredible; and it has been already stated that they invoke the dead with dance and song.—*T. B.*]

*Dodda-Veddás—Rhodiyas.*—In connection with this subject we must be careful not to confound the Veddás with the “Dodda-Veddás,” a name given to a division of one of the very lowest castes, or rather a tribe of outcasts, including the Rodiyas. Thousands of years had not sufficed to reduce the Rodiya out-casts to the degree of degradation to which the Veddás had fallen when Knox first heard of them.

## HISTORICAL & LINGUISTIC.

*Cultivated Races in the Island: Tamils.*—This would be the place to bring forward the historical and linguistic observations which concern the relations of the Veddás to the cultivated tribes of the island, by far the most numerous of whom, after the Sinhalese themselves, are the Tamils, who now exclusively occupy all those portions of the island which lie nearest to the Indian continent, and whose connection with the Dravidians of India seems unquestionable. These are the *Damilos* of the Maháwanso, a Pali term exactly equivalent to *Dravida* in the Sanskrit. <sup>(2)</sup> In local English speech they are frequently called Malabars, as if they came only from the Malabar coast, but in point of fact they belong to the ancient great Pandian kingdom, which stretched from the east to the west coast of India, and from the Deccan to Cape Comorin, but has ultimately dwindled to the little state of Madura. The first warlike invasion of the *Damilos*, of which there is historical record, took place B. C. 237, and during the whole of the next fourteen or fifteen hundred years their invasions were constantly renewed, and the dynasties of native princes repeatedly superseded by their Tamil conquerors. <sup>(3)</sup> In the beginning of the 13th century the whole country was overrun, subjected, and cruelly devastated; its inhabitants tortured, and many of its Buddhist monuments destroyed by a great expedition from Kálinga and the northern Circars of the Dekkan, under Maagha, who assumed the throne of the island. In the result,

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(2) *R. C. Childers*. Notes on the Sinhalese language. Journal Royal Asiatic Society, 1875, London, Vol. viii., p. 133 note.

(3) *Mahawanso*, Chap. xxi., p. 127. *Ibid* Appendix, Sovereigns of Ceylon p. lxi. Glossary p. 5. *Ibid* p. 128. lxiv. *Ekanayaka*, in Journal Royal Asiatic Society, 1876, Vol. 8, p. 297. *Tennent*, i. 412.

the Sinhalese people succeeded in recovering or retaining the provinces of Ruhuna in the south, and Mayaratta in the mountainous centre of the island ; but the north of the country—the province of Pihiti or Rajarata, the land of the kings—remained, even as far as the Mahawila Ganga, in the possession of the Tamils, and was by them wholly and permanently Dravidized.

*Moors.*—More peaceable invasions of the country took place by Mohammedan Arabs, whose descendants are now called Moors or Moormen. There seems to be no doubt that, at least since the first, and certainly since the 6th century A. C. <sup>(4)</sup> very extensive mercantile relations existed between Persia, Arabia and Ceylon, and that since that time many of these “Mauren” (as the Portugese called them later) remained in the land. The present Moors seem to be descended partly from these immigrants, who intermarried with native women, and partly from persons of similar origin in India, who in large numbers settled in the districts of Chilaw and Puttalam <sup>(5)</sup>. There is now little or no distinction between these two groups of Moors, who are scattered over the whole island and are the chief medium of all mercantile intercourse—even with the Veddás.

*Malays.*—Malays, belonging throughout to the Mohammedan religion, are to be found in the island only in comparatively small numbers, but scattered over many regions. According to the representations of Mr. Pridham <sup>(6)</sup> they are descended chiefly from the little Rajas and their followers whom the Dutch brought hither from Java, Malacca and Sumatra, and who were later taken by the English into their native regiments. More important it would be for us if the opinion were correct that the original population of the island had been Malays. This is supported by the certainly very noticeable fact that the Sinhalese use double canoes, or boats with booms, just such as are used in all the regions inhabited or colonized by Malays. This, however, is the only foothold for the hypothesis of an ethnic relationship.

*Europeans, Negroes, Parsees.*—Naturally, in the last centuries the different nations of Europe, especially Dutch,

(4) *Tement* 1, 546, 555, 607.

(5) *Pridham* i. 470.

(6) *Pridham* p. 482.

Portugese and English, have added to the population ; but for our researches they are of no importance. The same is to be said of the African Negroes and the Parsees, the former of whom have been only recently introduced, whilst the latter immigrated at different periods but in small numbers.

*Sinhalese*.—The southerly half of the island, the old province of Ruhuna and the central Maya-land, are still peopled by the Sinhalese; the former by comparatively pure-blooded Sinhalese, the latter by the somewhat more mixed Kandyans, the immediate neighbours of the Veddás. The ethnological position of the Sinhalese has been until now discussed chiefly on linguistic grounds, and on these it has been inferred by some that the Sinhalese belong to the great Dekkan family, and by Max Müller that they are a mixture of Indians with Dravidian aborigines. But others entertain directly the opposite opinion, and particularly Childers (<sup>6b</sup>) who derives the Sinhalese language from the ancient Elu with, however, an immense admixture of Sanskrit words partly unchanged. According to him the word *Elu* is identical with the word “Sinhalese,” by which the Sinhalese call themselves. It stands for the old word *Hela* or *Helu*, and this again for the still older *Sela*, which leads us back to the Pali *Sihala*. The Sinhalese language is very nearly related to Pali which, however, only represents the dialect of *one* of the districts of Mâgadha, (the modern Behar), from a district of which (Lala), Wijeya, the founder of the Sihala dynasty, is said to have come. Hence Sinhalese is one of the native Aryan (Sanskrit) languages of India, and very ancient, for it is absolutely identical with the *Elu* of the 5th and 6th centuries B.C., which is also found on the rock inscriptions of Mihintale of the 2nd or 3rd century.

*Vedda Dialect*.—What place the Veddá language holds relatively to this is still in the highest degree dubious. In Ceylon itself the opinion has long prevailed (<sup>7</sup>) that it is a

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(<sup>6b</sup>) Childers R. Asiat. Soc. Journal (New Series) London, 1875 Vol. vii. p. 35; 1876, Vol. viii. p. 131. *Alwis* in Journal Ceylon Branch R. A. S. 1876 p. 70.

(<sup>7</sup>) Knox l c. 122 ; *Starkie* in Journal Ceylon Branch R. A. S. 1853 p. 80 ; *Gillings* 84.



broken or corrupted Sinhalese; and all writers on the subject—Bailey (<sup>8</sup>), MaxMuller (<sup>9</sup>), E. Taylor (<sup>10</sup>), Hartshorne (<sup>11</sup>) and Cust (<sup>12</sup>),—seem to consider it to be a dialect of, or to approach to the Sinhalese. But there is much difference of opinion as to the existence in it of Dravidian elements, the supposed mixture of which (Telugu) in a dialect of an Aryan tongue (which he considers Sinhalese to be) leads Mr. Taylor to say that “their language makes a mixture of Aryan blood along “with Aryan language probable, whilst their bodily characteristics shew that the race of Vēddās belong chiefly to the native pre-Arian type.” The disagreements in the views of linguists are so great that we unfortunately gain very little from them towards a just comprehension of the phylogenetic position of the Vēddās. On the contrary, the mystery that envelopes this people, so remarkable in themselves, is vastly increased, and the purely anthropological interest comes even more into the foreground.

*The word Vēddā.*—The word “Vēddā,” or some modification of it, is widely used in India—a whole series of little tribes dwelling far apart, and who probably have not the least connection with one another, bearing the very same name, or one very like it. Whether the word be derived from the Sanskrit (*Viyadha*, hunter) or the Tamil (*Vedan*, hunter, wood-dweller,) this much seems certain that except when used in combination (as in the case of “Dodda-Vēddā,”) *it always relates to aborigines or savage races.*

*The Ethnological problem not to be solved by linguistics but by anthropology.*—Up to the present time two leading views stand opposed to one another which are mainly supported by

(<sup>8</sup>) Bailey l. c. 297, 305, 309.

(<sup>9</sup>) MaxMuller cited by Childers l. c. Vol. viii. 131, note.

(<sup>10</sup>) *Journal Ethnol. Soc.* London, 1870, (New Series) Vol. ii. p. 96.

(<sup>11</sup>) Hartshorne l. c. 417.

(<sup>12</sup>) Cust. Sketch of modern languages of East India, London, 1878, p. 63.

linguistic observations, and only in part by anthropological facts. According to one the Vēddās would be next of kin to the Dravidians; according to the other, members of the great Aryan family. In either case they must have immigrated from the continent; only in the first very much earlier than in the second. If we assume that the Vēddās originally belonged or were nearly related to the Dravidians, or even, if different from them, at any rate a savage aboriginal tribe, and that they only received their present language subsequently from Aryan conquerors, then it is difficult to conceive how the process of Sīṅhalesing the language could have been accomplished whilst their whole way of living, their customs and habits, remained wholly unchanged. On the other hand the hypothesis that the Vēddās are Sīṅhalese who have become savage would require us to fall back on some period after Wijeya, and, contrary to all experience, we should have to assume a descent from a high state of comparative civilization to a degradation too great to be conceivable, unless we can prove at the same time a very deep physical demoralisation; and that too whilst in closest proximity, even in direct contact, with a people who had passed through a long and eventful history. From whatever side we consider the question we must come to the conclusion that linguistics can only be used as aids in the investigation; and that if a real solution is to be found it is only possible by means of anthropology.

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### ANTHROPOLOGICAL.

VEDDAS—The earliest known description of the Vēddās is contained in a work attributed to Palladius, Bishop of Helenopolis in Bithynia, who died A. D. 410, and in which he describes a journey made from Thebes to Ceylon. The Vēddās are there described as feeble, and small of stature, and as having heads black and apparently large, with long, smooth, unshorn hair. Davy has given the first description resting an autopsy. He says:—"Such of the village Vēddās as I have seen were in general small men between 5 feet 3 and 5 feet 9 inches high; muscular and well made; in colour, form and features resembling the Sīṅhalese. Their appearance was wild

in the extreme and completely savage. Their hair seemed never to have been combed or cleaned ; it was long, bushy and matted, hanging about their shoulders and shading their faces in a very luxuriant and disgusting manner ; nor were their beards less neglected." Sir Emerson Tennent describes their children as unsightly objects, entirely naked, with misshapen joints, huge heads and protuberant stomachs, and says of their women that they were the most repulsive specimens of humanity he had ever seen in any country. The men, he says, also presented the same characteristics of wretchedness and dejection. He speaks of their projecting mouths, flattened noses and stunted stature. Of several measured by Mr. Bailey, the tallest, who towered above his fellows, was only 5 feet 3 inches in height ; and the smallest 4 feet 1 inch : and he concludes the average height of the men to range from 4 feet 6 to 5 feet 1, and of the women from 4 feet 4 to 4 feet 8. Observers present no facts which indicate disproportionate or imperfect developement of the separate members of the body. Only Mr. Hartshorne asserts that they have short thumbs and sharp-pointed elbows. The descriptions we have of them are sufficient to show us that *the Veddas are a dark, but not actually black race ; and not woolly haired like the Negro ; and that they are a very small, not to say dwarfish race.*

As to their features, Bailey says that these are, on the whole, tolerably regular. He, like Sir Emerson Tennent and Hartshorne, speaks of the flatness of the nose, and of the lips as somewhat thick. A woodcut prepared from a drawing made from a photograph of a group of six Veddás, who were presented to the Prince of Wales, shews plainly the growth of the hair ; the noses comparatively short, broad at the end and flattened ;—the eyes apparently deep-set ; the lips of the younger persons full and bulging : and this gives a far more vivid idea of the people than any description could furnish. One only of the men has anything like a beard. We see the little spear worn by the men, the great bows they carry, the arrows with the leaf-like points, and, finally, the iron axe stuck in the girdle.

If we add to the foregoing descriptions of their features the short thumbs and sharp-pointed elbows, referred to by Mr. Hartshorne, there are indications enough to distinguish the

Veddās in a noticeable manner from the oriental races living in their neighbourhood.\*

In our comparisons with other races the Sinhalese and the Tamils come chiefly under consideration: the others only collaterally. Those two are so predominant, both through their numbers and the extent of territory they occupy, that, apart from their exclusively historical claims, they must be specially considered.

THE SINHALESE.—For purposes of comparison with the Veddās the information with regard to the relative physical condition of their neighbours is very deficient, and osteological material scanty in the European collections; and what there is of that rather unsafe. The following remarks must, therefore, be taken with reserve, and are made principally to induce the sending of better material and especially photographs—half lengths and not too small—showing the profile and front face in the right horizontal position.

The Sinhalese occupy in the main the south and south-west of the country. According to Sir Emerson Tennent the inhabitants of the south coast from Galle to Hambantotte are the purest Sinhalese. This part formed an important division of the old province of Ruhuna, which was very early colonised by the descendants of Wijeya, who neither mingled with the Malabars nor had any intercourse with them.

*Physical appearance compared with the Veddās.*—If we compare the descriptions given of the Sinhalese with those of the Veddās we find in reality few points of difference. The *complexion* of the latter may be on the average somewhat darker, but it varies, apparently, within the same limits. It is equally doubtful if the *hair* varies; allowance being made for its neglected, dishevelled condition in the one case, and its carefully combed and well-kept condition in the other, it may be considered that the difference here is owing rather to culture than to original peculiarity. The average *height* of the Sinhalese seems to correspond with that of the tallest Veddā, but they

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\* [The detailed craniological observations which follow the descriptions of the external physical appearance of the different races are here omitted; as the material points are collected and compared or contrasted in the pages which discuss their comparative craniology and osteology.—T. B.]

are also somewhat shorter than Europeans. Among all the characteristics cited there is in reality only one which seems to have made a great and decided impression on every observer, to wit the form of the *nose*. Whilst with the Sinhalese it is very prominent, resembling an eagle's beak, and therefore thin and round, with the Veddás it is always described as flat and with widely distended nostrils. Add to this, the thick and projecting *lips* and the large *mouth*, and perhaps also the comparative smallness of the Veddá *face*, and there remain few facial characteristics for diagnosis.\* We may say that the Sinhalese also belong to a dark, perhaps best described as a brown, smooth-haired, and a not (or only very moderately) prognathous race, that is to say the jaws do not project, or only slightly.

THE TAMILS OR MALABARS: *their distribution in the island and physical appearance*.—We understand by this term the Dravidian immigrants who, in historic times, came from many different parts on the peninsula of Hindustan, and, in the course of two thousand years, multiplied so greatly that they almost exclusively peopled the north and a large portion of the east of the island, more especially along the shore, and whom Pridham speaks of as inhabitants of the land from Batticaloa on the east, to Jaffna on the north, and from there as far south as Puttalam on the west coast. When the Portugese, the first pioneers of civilization, obtained a firm foot-hold upon the island the Malabar rule was firmly established in the old Rajarata or Pihiti. It is not to be supposed that they live even now wholly separated from the Sinhalese. On the contrary, they are found in no small numbers mixed with other races. It is of special interest to us that they are immediate neighbours of the Veddás. Wolff describes the Malabars as black, long-haired, and without calves to their legs. Beyond this the author has found very few statements regarding their physical peculiarities; most of the writers limiting themselves to ascribing to them a stouter physique than the Sinhalese and greater activity.

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\* [Another point (whether common to the Veddás also I do not know) which seems to me of perhaps ethnological importance is the *yellow* tint or tone that seems to suffuse the brown Sinhalese complexion, and which is noticed by Percival, Philoethes and Davy.—T. B.]

THE MOORS OR MOORMEN.—Their number is small; and their effect upon the rest of the population even less highly to be estimated, because of their religion which necessitates a sharply defined separation, so that they rarely intermarry with the Sinhalese or other natives. We have scarcely any description of their physical peculiarities. There seems to be only one skull of a “Moor” in Europe, and that is in the possession of Mr. Bernard Davis. This (317 of his collection) is a male skull of 1495 cub. cm. capacity; therefore tolerably large; with a length to breadth index of 70; length to height index of 71; and a facial index of 85·7. It is accordingly ortho-dolichocephalic and chamaeprosop. From a single skull no judgment can be formed whether it is really typical of its race, and therefore further comparison is scarcely desirable.

MALAYS.—The existence of a scattered Malay element has been earlier discussed. A few statements as to their physical condition have come to us. Cordiner describe them as lighter, more inclining to copper colour than any other of the Indian races. Selkirk speaks of them as copper-coloured; below middle height; with flat brow; broad flat nose; and piercing eyes. In the Davis collection there is a Malay skull from Colombo, marked male. Its capacity amounts to 1435 cub. cm.; the length to breadth index is 79; length to height 76; face index 108. It is therefore hypsimeso-cephalic and leptoprosop.

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## THE MUTUAL RELATIONS OF THE RACES.

We now proceed to consider the origin and relationship to each other of the different tribes existing close to one another in Ceylon: and it is noteworthy that the inhabitants of the island are spoken of as belonging to distinct races both by Greek travellers in the 6th, and by Chinese travellers in the 7th centuries after Christ.

*Question of a Chinese or Siamese origin of the Sinhalese.*—With respect to the question of a Chinese origin which some have on insufficient grounds attributed to the Sinhalese, we have reports of one warlike invasion by the Chinese; and Chinese soldiers are stated to have entered the military service of King Prakrama in 1266. The defeat of a King of Ceylon

by a Chinese army so late as the year 1408 is also narrated. But nothing is known of any colonization or settlement by the Chinese having ever taken place in Ceylon; and no elaborate proof is needed to prove that neither Sinhalese nor Veddás, at least in the form of their skulls, present the slightest indication of any relationship to the Mongols. According to an old tradition mentioned by Valentyn, the Sihala dynasty, from which Wijeya the conqueror was descended, had their residence in Tennasserim, so that a Siamese origin [or connexion] is thus ascribed to the Sinhalese; but it is unnecessary to follow up the tradition. Besides, it is not the search for the origin of the Sinhalese which claims our first interest but the derivation of the Veddás.

*The Veddás not degenerated Sinhalese.*—Whether we consider the Veddás to be, as some say, “savage Sinhalese,” or the Sinhalese to be, as others say, “tame Veddás”—thus deducing both from the same stock—we must begin our investigations with the Veddás. A reverse order would be justified only if we assumed that the Veddás had sunk back from a condition of higher civilization to that of absolute savagery in which all travellers have found them for many centuries. The theoretical objection to such an assumption need not be again brought up, but I will only ask what signs of an earlier civilization have actually been found? What remains of an earlier culture that, with any probability, might be attributed to the Veddás? A people who do not even possess clay vessels; who have no knowledge of domestic animals, beyond the dog; who are unacquainted with the simplest form of gardening and agriculture; who lack almost every kind of social institution; who are not even counted as outcasts by their civilized neighbours,—cannot possibly ever have had the means which make a higher culture of any kind possible. *The hypothesis of a relapse to barbarism must hence be definitely given up.*

The ground for such an assumption could only be found in the language. But it has been already shewn how great is the difference of opinion as to the place which should be given to that. That it is no Dravidian idiom, fundamentally, seems proved beyond a doubt. If we take it for a dialect of the Sinhalese, and the latter for a primitive sister dialect of the

Pali, it will still be truly very difficult for any one to argue from that, and still less from the Sanskrit words intermingled with it, the derivation of the Vēddās from the valley of the Ganges. Surrounded for centuries by more highly cultivated peoples, a certain intercourse with their neighbours has been unavoidable, and consequently, where the Tamils have continuously pressed on nearer to them—as near Batticaloa—a part of the Vēddās have adopted the Tamil language. But for very much longer, and in the greater number of places, they have been in immediate contact with the Sinhalese. What wonder, therefore, if they adopted more and more Sinhalese words and forms. The question is only whether besides these, as I suppose, borrowed words, their language has not preserved some individual elements? To this point so little attention has been given that we do not even know positively whether the Vēddā language contains any words designating numbers. It is no use being told that half the words *noted down* are corrupted Sanskrit. To what belongs the other half, which perhaps with greater attention might be enlarged? If we cannot class it among the Tamil languages it is very possible that it may prove specific. Nothing hitherto justifies us in any such one-sided statement as that of Mr. Tyler who, without hesitation, calls the Vēddā language Aryan.

The matter would take a rather different aspect if we might assume that originally the Vēddās alone inhabited the island and that they were not only forced back into the forests by the immigrants but had [partly] intermingled with them.\* According to the native annalists the origin of the Sinhalese is to be traced back to the followers of King Wijeya—a victorious host of immigrants from the valley of the Ganges in a numerical proportion to the inhabitants which must have been somewhat like that of the Danes and Normans in England. A patriarchal system was introduced which has lasted for thousands of years, and a series of facts testify that the aboriginal population was not wholly

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\* [This has actually happened. Of the Tamils who did not immigrate, till later we may say that while in the North they have entirely supplanted the original population, in the East they have not merely mingled with the Vēddās but have accomplished a veritable tamulization of them.—T.B.]



excluded from this system\* Upon such a foundation an intermingling of the Magadha people with the aborigines would most naturally take place, and if we look upon the Sinhalese race as the result of this commingling, the experience of so many other countries, where a similar commingling has taken place, would make it perfectly explicable that the Magadha people made their language, the old Pali or Elu, the ruling one, while in their physical conformation the aboriginal element won lasting influence. With such a view of the matter the Veddás and Sinhalese would neither be identical, nor distinguished from one another merely by the degree of culture. The Veddás would appear rather as representatives of the aboriginal race; the Sinhalese, on the other hand, as hybrids produced by a union of immigrant Indians with Veddás, and therefore varying according to the measure of these elements. This indeed strikes me as being the solution of the anthropological problem before us. The linguistic difficulty, that also the unmixed natives adopted to some extent—less or more—the Aryan language of their conquerors appears no longer insurmountable, for the same thing is actually now happening with the Fins in the Baltic provinces of Russia.

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### COMPARATIVE ANTHROPOLOGY.

The craniological materials available to the Author for purposes of comparison have been the following. Of *Veddá skulls*, twenty-three well authenticated specimens, including three lent to the Author himself from the Colombo Museum—but of this number two had to be excluded from some of the computations owing to abnormalities, the probable consequence of artificial or accidental occipital pressure. Of *Sinhalese skulls*, after setting aside those of which there are no detailed descriptions or measurements, or which are measured on a system different from that used by the Author, and also those of

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\* [We have corroboration of this in the statement that “King Pandukhabayo (B. C. 437) placed the Veddás in a *separate* settlement, near the town (Anuradhapura).” *Burrows’ Buried Cities* p. 3. Unfortunately Mr. Burrows has not quoted his authority for this statement.—*T. B.*]

hybrids,—there remained twelve available for comparison, which include two received by the Author himself, through the kindness of Consul Freudenberg: a third, similarly received, proved to be probably that of a Tamil child. These would form a good broad basis for future decision if important measurements were not wanting in these belonging to Mr. Davis' collection, for instance, of the orbits, nose and palate. With respect to *Tamil or Malabar skulls* only a single specimen was known in Europe until lately. This was in the collection of Mr. Davis, in which was also the skull of a hybrid of Malabar and Sinhalese. This has been supplemented, through the kindness of Consul Freudenberg, by three Tamil skulls, unfortunately all without the lower jaw, and a child's marked Sinhalese, but which rather appears to be Tamil. There are therefore, strictly, only four specimens for comparison, and in giving the averages of measurements only these undoubted ones are taken into computation.

[There is only a single skull of a Moor known in Europe, and in the Davis' collection one Malay skull from Colombo, but these are not brought into the comparisons.]

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## ANTHROPOLOGICAL COMPARISON OF THE VEDDAS WITH THE SINHALESE.

Considered simply on anthropological grounds the differences between the Veddás and the Sinhalese are not so great as to oblige us to assume an absolute contrast in the two tribes. The skulls which have been personally examined [by the Author] are too few to lead to a definite conclusion, but they seem sufficient to enable us to ascertain whether any reason exists for distrusting results obtained in other ways. Such reason I do not find.

Comparing briefly what has been arrived at, the result is that the Veddás, as well as the Sinhalese, are dark tribes whose *complexion* varies—apparently within the same limits—between yellow-brown and black. The character of the *hair* also is plainly similar: only that here the effect of culture is conspicuous to a much greater extent. Both tribes, however,

wear the hair long ; it is black, luxuriant and a little wavy : but with the Veddás, owing to neglect, it hangs down in tangled but, properly speaking, not curly nor woolly tresses. There is special testimony which conclusively proves that the Sinhalese hair, when not cared for, strongly resembles that of the Veddás. Information with respect to the colour of the *iris* is less complete. but it may be gathered that, as a rule, it is black or dark-brown, in both cases. As regards *size*, plainly both races are of moderate stature, rather short than tall. The significance of the shorter measure of the Veddás cannot be doubted, but the fact that they are not all dwarfs, and that comparatively large Veddás are met with, may be adduced in favor of the hypothesis that their often dwarfish size is a result of long continued unfavourable conditions for development. Nevertheless the fact in the main is well established that the Veddás belong to a small, indeed to one of the smallest known races. Concerning the development of *muscle* and *strength of body*, the witnesses testify loudly in favor of the Veddás. With respect to the *shortness of the thumbs* and *pointed elbows*, emphasized by Mr. Hartshorne, only the first would be of any importance if it should be proved by measurement to be altogether disproportionate. It may, perhaps, be a deception, such as that of Mr. Burnet in regard to the length of the foot, which direct measure shews to be of perfectly fair proportions.

Similar observations, *only still less distinctive*, we find in regard to the *size of the head*, and especially the *capacity of the skull*. The result proves that the Veddá skulls are on the average much smaller than the Sinhalese ; their capacity only averaging 1,261 cub. cm. against 1,406 cub. cm. for the latter. [The average capacity of the English male skull is 1,511 cub. cm. taking the average of those in the Royal College of Surgeons.—*T. B.*] Some of the Veddá skulls are positively nano-kephalic, descending in one specimen to a capacity of 1,025, and in another, that of an adult man, to a capacity of only 960 cub. cm. This term nano-kephalic [pigmy-headed] is chosen to distinguish the case from microcephaly in the pathological sense, [i. e., from smallness of the head the result of disease or malformation.] But notwithstanding this difference in average, the numbers slide over from both sides ; the higher average of the Sinhalese does not prevent

the occurrence of very small specimens ; for the extremes range from 1,694 to 1,110 cub. cm.; and vice versa, the certainly very low average of the Veddás includes some pretty large specimens, (one 1,420, and one 1,614.) The *length measures* and the relations deduced from them have brought to light certain differences between the two tribes, but we shall represent these parallel to each other in their indices. One of the proportions is, however, now mentioned as being of considerable importance, viz., that with the Sinhalese the front and middle head have the larger share in forming the *roof of the skull*, while with the Veddás it is the occipital region that does so. Of special interest is the comparison of the *skull indices*. The average ratio between *length and breadth*, ascertained by the Author, is for both tribes almost identical : 71·8 for the Sinhalese ; 71·6 for the Veddás. This is a highly dolichocephalic [i.e. long-headed] measure [and its value will be better appreciated if we remember that for the narrow long-headed Negro the ratio is nearly the same, while for the European it is 80, and for the broad and short head of a Tartar tribe 85, and in some Mongolian tribes even 88.—*T. B.*] For our present purposes of comparison we can only say that these important relative measures do not point to any radical difference in race between Sinhalese and Veddás. *With both the skull is long and narrow*, yet among the Veddás there is a greater number in which the narrowness is extreme than among the Sinhalese. The Veddá skulls are narrower than those of the African Negroes, and sometimes as narrow as those of the New Caledonians. [The narrowest appear to be the Fijian mountaineers, with whom the average ratio is only 66.—*T. B.*] It is the same with the *ratio between length and height*, which is orthocephalic [straight-headed] with both tribes ; [the average for the Sinhalese (74·2) being only a little below that for the Veddás (74·9).] With reference to the *height measures* the ratio is somewhat different, in so far as the larger figures are on the side of the Sinhalese. In both the vertical height exceeds the breadth. These coincidences of the main indices are so great that they could not be greater within the limits of a single race. The configuration of the capsule of the skull may—apart from the share of the separate bones in it—be considered as identical. The total result as regards the formation of the skull is that a *great*

*correspondence exists between the proportions of the skulls of the Sinhalese and the Veddás, while the absolute figures shew those of the Sinhalese to exceed the Veddás, as a rule, in height.*

In fact, according to the testimony of travellers, the difference of race is more conspicuous in the *face* than in the skull. It is chiefly to the form of the *nose*, particularly the flatness of its ridge, and the breadth of the nostrils, but likewise to the form of the *lips* and *jaws*, which are throughout described as prognathous [or projecting], that the various writers call attention as being characteristic features of the Veddá face. Contrasted with the Sinhalese nose—which the old Chinese reporters call a bird's beak, and in the description of a Kandy beauty is compared to a hawk's bill,—and also contrasted with the delicate lips and orthognathous [or straight] jaw, which we perceive in Davy's drawings, there are certainly very striking differences. Unfortunately no other observer has recorded orbital measurements for the Sinhalese, and there is a difference in the system of the published measurements which prevents our turning the skulls in England to much account in this direction; but, on the whole, osteological investigation has, in regard to the main facts, confirmed the observations made among the living. The skeleton face of the Sinhalese differs far more from that of the Veddás than their respective skulls do. The index for the face shews a very considerable contrast to that of the Veddás, averaging for the latter only 83, against 89 for the former, calculated on 5 female and 1 male skulls, one of which is that of a weak-minded person. In general the skeleton face of the Sinhalese is much narrower and longer than that of the Veddás. Corresponding with this the palate with the Sinhalese is more long and narrow; with the Veddás rather short and broad, with a prognathous jaw. In the last particular, however, the contrast is not so clear. With the Veddás occurs mesokonchy (orbital index 84·6) and mesosorrhiny (52), with many individual aberrations it is true, so that with the women more platyrrhine [or flat-nose] with the men more leptorrhine [or narrow-nose] forms occur. On this point the Sinhalese materiel is very unsatisfactory and quite inadequate.

## ANTHROPOLOGICAL COMPARISON OF THE TAMILS WITH THE VEDDAS AND SINHALESE.

It is necessary to take the Tamils next into comparison, chiefly because the historical accounts, going backward as far as the time of Wijeya, inform us of numerous marriages, not merely of the kings, but of their retainers, with the Malabar women, not to mention the very early invasions and settlements made on the island by Tamil hordes.

In spite of the meagre reports with regard to the physical characteristics of the Tamils, we cannot doubt that they, likewise, are very dark, more or less black, and have long black hair. For the rest, observers lay stress on their greater strength and activity—nothing more. Hence there remains only the scant craniological material found in Mr. Davis' and the Author's own collections. As these are all insufficient for a final authoritative answer to the question of the ethnological relation of the Tamils to the two other (Sinhalese) tribes, the Author wishes his conclusions only to be accepted with great reserve.

All these Tamil skulls are comparatively small; the *average capacity* being only 1,247 cub. cm. which is even less than the average of the Veddás (1,261 cub. cm.) and of the Sinhalese (1,406 cub. cm.) It is scarcely possible to look upon this number as the typical one for the race, and it is only interesting as showing that small skulls may be found among all the races in the island. Still, none of them reach the minimum figure for the Veddás. More important, however, is the difference in the *form of the head*. The Tamil skull, judging from these specimens, is hypsi-meso-cephalic—[i. e. the height index exceeds the breadth index; while the relation of the breadth to the length approaches the medium]—in fact *wholly different from the Sinhalese and the Veddá skull*. Corresponding to this its transverse vertical length is greater than its sagittal circumference length. In the share of the separate bones of the skull in forming the roof of the skull we also find a great difference and radical contrast; the squama occipitalis [i. e., the flat portion of the occipital bone] is much smaller, and the frontal bone considerably larger than with the Sinhalese, and still more emphatically so than with the Veddás. While

with the Tamils the skull-roof culminates with the frontal division, with the Sinhalese, and still more with the Veddás, the occipital is strongly developed. The basilar view shows plainly the extraordinary shortness of the occipital region in the Tamil skulls. After this we must say that *the skull of the Tamils, so far as can be ascertained from those under consideration, exhibits no relationship either with the Veddás or with the Sinhalese.*

In size the *Tamil face* occupies a middle position between the Sinhalese and the Veddá face. The Sinhalese is the largest; then the Tamil; and the Veddá is the smallest. The proportions of the Tamil face may briefly be stated in the following formula: *mesokonchy, mesorrhiny, prognathy, and brachystaphy.\** This positively distinguishes the Tamil face from the Sinhalese, and brings it nearer to the Veddá face. But the almost complete identity of the nasal indices (Tamils 51, Veddás 50-52) does not prevent the greatest variety in the formation of the nasal bridge. Owing to the greater narrowness of the nasal bone as well as the form of the bridge we would not be at all justified in representing the flat, and, towards the lower part, broad nose of the Veddás as a Tamil inheritance. The form of the *orbits* is different in all the three races; and to this dissimilarity is to be added the very different formation of the *naso-frontal* region, in which, however, the proportions in the Sinhalese more nearly resemble those of the Veddá. The form of the aperture of the nose is with the Tamil more like that of the Sinhalese than that of the Veddá; both being platyrrhine, and that of the Veddá mesorrhine; but at its epiphysis nevertheless the Veddá nose is flatter and more depressed; the Sinhalese and Tamil protuberant—the Tamil in fact more than the Sinhalese. The chief distinctive feature of the Veddá *palate* is that the “tooth-curve” has very nearly the outline of a horse shoe. Wholly different from the Tamils, and also somewhat different from the Veddás, is the “tooth-curve” of the Sinhalese. With them the palatal plate is unusually large and at the same time of considerable breadth, so that it is very large, but the sides are more parallel, and the region of the incisors forms a broader, flatter curve jutting out in front. The *O*s

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\*[i. e., Medium orbital index,—medium nasal index,—projecting jaw,—and short palate.—*T. B.*]

*palatinum* has a relatively large share with the Sinhalese in the formation of the palatal plate. The Tamil palatal index is in very striking contrast to the Sinhalese.

The facts given in respect to three of the most important regions of the skeleton face shew that great difficulties are encountered in attempting to ascertain the degree of affinity existing between these three tribes. If we take, as usual, the indices as guides we gain for each region another combination. Most nearly related are :—

According to the orbital index—the Veddā and the Tamil.

Do. nasal index—,, Tamil ,, ,, Sinhalese.

Do. palatal index—,, Sinhalese ,, Veddā.

We must not forget however, that here only one individual is taken from each tribe, and that he by no means corresponds in every particular to the average of his tribe : the Author having had to select for his illustrations from the few skulls available those which gave the best indications of regular development, but which perhaps do not, in all respects, represent typical forms. The Author's work will have fulfilled its aim if it hastens the bringing up of better material. For the present he can only assert that, so far as we have a distinct view of the physical relations, *as few evidences appear of a real affinity between the Tamils and the Veddās as between the Tamils and the Sinhalese.*

*Question of Dravidian element in Veddās and Sinhalese.*—

This, however, does not decide the question as to whether there is a Dravidian element in either the Veddās or the Sinhalese. We now know that the Tamils who made invasions and settlements in Ceylon came not only from the nearer points on the coast of India, but also from quite northern districts ; and, before expressing a decided judgment, all the tribes of Hindustan which are usually embraced in the term “Dravidas” must be compared in turn. A comparison of this kind would here be out of place, and the material is not sufficient. For the present, it will only be stated that the physical condition of the Tamils, including those of the Coromandel coast, is not sufficient to represent perfectly the Dravidian type.\* Close beside them

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\* Of two skulls from Tanjore,—the Chola of the Sinhalese annals,—one is dolicho-cephalic ; the other mesocephalic ; which is here typical ? One is hypsikonech ; the other mesokonech ; one leptostaphyline ; the other brachystaphyline. According to which shall we decide ?



in the mountains we come upon *other* Dravidas, such as the *Kurumbars* and other wild tribes of the Nilgherries, of stunted stature and debased type, who, to all appearance, are essentially different from the Tamils, and whose skull measurements show great similarity to those of the Vēddās of Ceylon, while the form of their face, though differing from that in both Tamils and Vēddās, is not so different from the latter as to justify an ethnological separation. Therefore, if one would search out the connection of the Vēddās, and perhaps of the Sinhalese themselves, with Dravidian India, it would be advisable to go beyond the inhabitants of the coast, and bring the mountain tribes into comparison.

But even here the researches will not end ; for, according to all probability, the present mountain tribes are not the real aborigines of Hindustan. We have the tradition that, together with the *Kurumbars*, the *Veddās* were the oldest inhabitants of Tondamandalam (Madras); and of them it seems was said “there were then no forts, only huts ; no kings ; no religion ; no civilization ; no books ; men were naked savages : no marriage institutions.” And we have the tales of the fight of Vishnu with fabulous Assoors ; and of the war of Rama upon Rawana, the Ceylon champion of the Yakkho and Rakshasas worship ; and also the traditions preserved among the *Hayas* in Nepaul, and the *Wouralis* of the Konkan, that their tribes emigrated from Ceylon to their present mountain homes when Rawana was slain. Such traditions are, of course, of no positive value for the diagnosis of the different tribes, but they at least warn us not to decide as to the aboriginal races of India and Ceylon simply on the ground of some crude linguistic indications, or the physical characteristics of a few better known tribes. All the same, we cannot avoid the conviction that the earliest inhabitants of Ceylon stand in a close affinity to the aborigines of India.

*Proto-Dravidians and Pre-Dravidians.*—Whether these aborigines were Proto-Dravidian, or even Pre-Dravidian tribes, we cannot with certainty decide at present. When the light-skinned Aryans from the Punjab invaded the land later called Hindustan, they found it already in the possession of numerous tribes of “dark-skinned” people, who, in the Vēddās, are desig-

nated by the generic name of *Dasyu* or *Dasa*. The greater part of them, as the conquerors penetrated further into the valley of the Ganges, were forced back on both sides, to the mountains northward into the Himalaya, and southward into the Vindhya; those who remained behind were adopted as *Sudras*, thus becoming a part of the Aryan organization. Hence nothing stands in the way of the assumption that the mountaineers in general belong to the aboriginal tribes. But neither does anything compel us to consider all these tribes of the *Dasyu* as homophylic [of one race.] M. Rousselet speaks most positively of an immigration of Thibetan tribes of the yellow race from the east, and another of Turanians from the west, before the Aryan invasion; but he assumes, as anterior to both, a population of *Negritos*. To the admixture of the latter with yellow tribes he first of all ascribes the origin of the Proto-Dravidians, (counting among these the *Malars*, the *Konds*, and perhaps the *Gounds*); and only when fresh troops of invaders had again mixed with the Proto-Dravidians, arose, in his opinion, the Dravidas or Tamils. They brought the snake worship (*Nagas*) with them. On the other hand, from the immigration of the Turanians arose in the plains the *Yats*; in the mountains the *Bhils*, *Minas*, and *Mhuirs*.] He regards as the last remains of the primitive black population scattered remnants of a small black people upon the high plateaus of the Amarkantak, who became known under the name of *Djangals*, *Puttnas*, and *Yuangas* (*Dschuangas*)\* If I have many doubts about admitting the distinctions of M. Rousselet, especially with regard to the assumption of a veritable Negrito race as the aboriginal race of India, I yet in nowise oppose the idea that the tribes of black-skins which the Aryans found established in the valley of the Ganges were mixed. How much Mongolian, Turanian or Negrito blood flowed in their veins must remain for the present undecided. But it is certainly not impossible that a part only of the *Dasuya* were Dravidians, and that even before the Proto-Dravidas of M. Rousselet, Pre-Dravidian tribes inhabited the land, Neither the Mongols nor the Turanians satisfactorily

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\* Col. Dalton states that these belong to the Kolars; and his description of these contains quite as many Mongolian as Negretian characteristics.

explain the stunted growth of the tribes of "black-skins" to whom even Pliny alludes as "pigmies." All the information we have of them is so imperfect as to admit of being turned to account for any sort of opinion. M. de Quatrefages has collected accounts of the Negritoës in India from which he concludes definitely that Negritoës are still living in various parts of the country. I cannot esteem the evidence sufficient, but will not deny that the question is open to discussion.

As affording grounds for misgivings, reference may be made to the so-called Negrito race inhabiting several clusters of islands and parts of Malacca, and also to their neighbours, the "little-blacks," who dwell in the Andaman islands. In various respects, as by their dark complexion, the smallness of their frames, and particularly of the head, they unquestionably shew a striking approach to the Veddás and Kurumbas. But the one circumstance of the difference in the form of the skull, which, with the Andamanese as well as the Negritoës generally, is in reality brachycephalic, distinguishes them definitely from all the Ceylon races. When to this is added that their hair grows in spiral coils and is to be classed with the wooly hair of the genuine Negro, every possibility disappears of a connexion with the Veddás, unless we assume that climatic influences have especially affected the hair. Even less analogy is found between Veddás and Australians, although M. Topinard has recently emphasized the supposed relationship of the Australians to the Veddás, as well as to the Bhils, Gonds, Khandas, Kurumbas, &c.

*Malay element.*—Very much more complicated is the question whether Malay elements were not infused into the aboriginal population of Ceylon. The Malays have extended their settlements much further, and even as far as Madagascar. There are, however, no obvious physical indications of such a relationship. Only Mr. Williams, an American Missionary in China, observed in the Sinhalese "a Malay expression of countenance."

CONCLUSIONS.—From the foregoing discussion we assume as proved :—

*1st.*—That manifold resemblances exist between Veddás and Sinhalese; and that the origin of the Sinhalese race

from a mixture of Vēddās and immigrants from India possesses great probability, as well upon historical as also upon anthropological grounds

*2nd.*—That the Vēddās as well as the Sinhalese are, in the main features, distinguished from the Ceylon Tamils, and equally from those of Tanjore (Chola.)

*3rd.*—That on the other hand, among the remnants of the old Dravidian, or perhaps Pre-Dravidian tribes of Hindustan we find even today evidence of analogies with the Vēddās.

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*The low development of the Vēddas a race distinction and not a hereditary morbid condition.*—Have the Vēddās remained in the condition of the Proto-Dravidians, or possibly Pre-Dravidians?—or have they, in their isolation, sunk to a lower state? In other words, are they ethnologically to be turned to account in order to paint anew the picture of this primitive period? If, in spite of reasons which seem to the Author conclusive, one would assume that they have by degrees retrograded physically and intellectually, we should be forced to represent them as a pathological tribe; and the question suggests itself whether the tiny size of their skulls and small capacity for mental development be not microcephaly in the pathological sense? We can distinctly deny this suggestion. The individuality of the Vēddās is psychically fully developed. So far as their needs demand they have matured their capacities and are able to take care of themselves and their children; and they even associate, so far as unavoidable, with neighbours and strangers in a free way and as self-determined men. They are distinguished in all the main features from microcephyles in the technical sense; and it may therefore be admitted, without hesitation, that the inferior bodily and mental development of the Vēddās is not owing to a really morbid condition which, as such, might be hereditary, but is rather to be regarded as a race peculiarity.

This, however, by no means excludes the possibility that favourable outward circumstances, especially better food, might produce a more complete development, and the body become larger and stronger, the skull and brain formation more perfect. In fact such cases appear among the Vēddās, as is proved by

examples of men far exceeding the average height, and by skulls having a capacity of 1,614 and 1,420 cub. cm. It might follow from this that the Sinhalese are civilized Veddás who simply owe the superiority of their physical development to their better life. But the Veddá race is still, as it was in ancient days, among the smallest of the living human tribes. Similar dwarfish tribes are scattered all over India, which possibly was in ancient times inhabited by tribes which had a close relationship to these. And with just as little propriety as the present Hindoos can be said to have sprung and progressively developed from these more or less dwarfish aborigines, does such a kind of explanation suit the connection of the Veddás with the Sinhalese. As they have not descended from the Sinhalese by regressive degeneration, neither surely have they been transformed by progressive evolution into Sinhalese. That no such affinity exists is proved chiefly by the *form of the face*, to which all observers testify. All descriptions, and history confirmed by the Ramayana, as well as the Wijeyan legend, shew that there can be no doubt that *the Sinhalese face is an importation from the Aryan province of the Indian continent*: while, directly to the contrary, all observers ascribe to the *Vedda face* a foreign and, very frequently, Dravidian type. It becomes clear then that genealogical investigation must make the face a main object of study.

If the view be correct that the Veddás are a pure, the Sinhalese a mixed race, we may then leave the question out of consideration as to how far soil, food, and climate, and the like may have operated to determine the formation of the body, or the size of the head, or to transform the character of the hair from that of wooly-haired blacks like Negritoes, &c., to what we now find it. Although facts bearing more or less plausibly on this question may not be wanting, we should hesitate before applying arguments gathered from the history of domesticated animals to the savage inhabitants of Ceylon, at any rate until it is proved that the latter actually possessed in earlier times different physical characteristics. The present state of the hair plainly corresponds to the description given by Palladius, and must, therefore, have been just as it now is for at least fifteen hundred years.

*Direction of further enquiry: the Veddas a member of the pre-historic Dasuya group.*—It is very certain that if we would pursue the search for the origin of the Veddás genealogically, we must first turn our investigations to the savage or half-savage tribes of India. Every possible effort must be made to enlarge the facts bearing on Indian ethnology in order to be able to investigate radically the tribe of “Black-skins.” Since a part of the Dasuya were transferred to the Sudras, and consequently included in the caste system of the Hindoos—as the Veddás in that of the Sindhalese—it is not possible to bring to a conclusion the physical anthropology of the Hindoos and the Sindhalese, until we have resolved the evidently very composite group of the Dasuya into its separate members. One such member is plainly the tribe of the Veddás: their natural isolation upon an island has perhaps tended to preserve in them, more than in similar places upon the continent, their peculiar character, and made them an object by which to test the admissibility of the theories concerning the origin of the Black Indians. May the zeal of the observer know no flagging, that, before the utter extinction of this already much depleted race, the language and customs, the physical and mental constitution of the Veddás may, in all particulars, be firmly established

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5 FEB 1927











